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Insubordination in Germanic: A typology of complement and conditional constructions

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Abbreviations

#	(pragmatically) unacceptable	IRR	irrealis
*	ungrammatical	LOC	locative
†	obsolete	MDL	middle
2	second person	N	neuter
I, II	gender I, II	NAME	proper name
		NEG	negation
ATTR	attributive	NOM	nominative
CNJ	conjunctive	NOMLZ	nominalization
COBL	complementizing oblique	PART	partitive
COMP	complementizer	PASS	passive
COND	conditional	PFV	perfective
CONT	continuative	POT	potential
CONV	converb	PPART	past participle
CTR	control transitive	PROP	propriative
DAT	dative	PRT	particle
DEF	definite	PRS	present
DEM	demonstrative	PST	past
ERG	ergative	PURP	purposive
F	feminine	QUOT	quotative
HORT	hortative	REFL	reflexive
IMMED	immediate	REL	relative marker
IMP	imperative	SBJ	subject
IND	indicative	SBJV	subjunctive
INDP	independent pronoun	SG	singular
INF	infinitive	SS	same subject
INFM	infinitival marker	ST	stative aspect
INTERJ	interjection	TAG	tag
IPFV	imperfective		

Introduction

This study explores the category of insubordination using a corpus of Germanic material. As defined by Evans (2007: 367), insubordination is “the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses”. Some Germanic examples of insubordinate structures are given in (1) to (3). All of these structures have the basic characteristics of subordinate clauses in Germanic, in that they are introduced by a subordinating conjunction and have a specific subordinate word order in German and Dutch, but they are used independently, i.e. without an accompanying main clause, to express for instance a feeling of resentment as in (1), a wish as in (2), or a threat as in (3):

ENGLISH (Brinton 2014: 99)

- (1) *“He’ll go with us to the hospital. Okay?” **As if I had a choice.***

GERMAN (Verstraete & D’Hertefelt forthcoming)

- (2) *Dass ihm nur nicht schlecht dabei wird!*
 COMP him PRT NEG ill of.that become.PRS
 ‘[I hope] that doesn’t make him feel sick!’

DUTCH (IC)

- (3) *als je nu niet heel snel oplazert...*
 COND you now NEG very fast bugger.off.PRS
 ‘If you don’t bugger off right now...’
 (<http://www.broadcastmagazine.nl/george-freriks-16-augustus/>, 11/09/2015)

This study focuses on two types of insubordination that are very productive in Germanic languages, i.e. independent complement clauses like (2), and independent conditional clauses like (3). I investigate these constructions in six languages, i.e. English, German, Dutch, Swedish, Danish and Icelandic. Studying a set of related languages will allow me to study a broader range of construction types, and to investigate language-specific differences in the distribution of these types.

The general aim of this study is twofold. At a descriptive level, I map the different meanings which these structures can express, and I examine how these meanings are reflected in the use of specific formal markers. This results in two constructional typologies – one for independent complement and one for independent conditional constructions – each of which comprises a large number of different types, with uneven distributions across the languages studied here. From a theoretical perspective, I then use this rich data set to tackle two questions about the nature of insubordination more generally. First I investigate if

all the types that I distinguish can be analyzed as insubordinate. In the literature, the notion of insubordination has typically been equated with ‘independent’ subordinate clauses, but on the basis of my Germanic data I show that there are other models to deal with part of the material. Second, given this wealth of different types, I investigate to what extent it is possible to generalize over these structures. This covers both semantic generalizations (are insubordinate structures ‘interpersonal’, as has been claimed in the literature?) and constructional generalizations (are all the different structures separate constructions in their own right, or can they be analyzed as instances of one single, more schematic ‘insubordinate’ type?).

Insubordination

In most traditional grammars, insubordinate structures have mainly been treated as ‘anomalies’, or have not been treated at all. This may be due to the fact that the use of formal marking of dependency in functionally independent structures seems to involve a certain paradox. However, in the first systematic study of insubordination, Evans (2007, but see also Evans 1993) has shown that the main clause use of formally subordinate clauses is by no means exceptional, but is actually a widely attested phenomenon across languages. His work has led to a recent surge in interest in these structures, both for Indo-European languages like Spanish (e.g. Gras 2011; Sansiñena, De Smet & Cornillie 2015; Sansiñena 2015), French (e.g. Patard 2014), English (e.g. Stirling 1999; Brinton 2014), Dutch (e.g. Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012; Boogaart & Verheij 2013; Boogaart 2015), Swedish (Laury, Lindholm & Lindström 2013) or Italian (Vallauri 2004; also see Evans & Watanabe forthcoming for further studies on insubordination in English, Spanish, French and Italian), and for a range of non-Indo European languages (e.g. Cable 2011, and many of the studies in Evans & Watanabe forthcoming).

Most of these studies have an important descriptive component, identifying different types of insubordination and investigating which meanings these structures can express. In addition, the literature has also addressed a number of more general questions about insubordination, two of which are particularly prominent. The first question concerns the semantics of insubordination. Evans (2007: 386) argues that in spite of the large diversity in formal types of insubordination (which is a natural reflection of the wide variety in formal marking of subordination across languages), insubordinate structures do not just express any type of meaning, but typically have one of three basic functions, i.e. (i) expressing modal meanings, (ii) managing speaker/hearer negotiation about the realization of particular actions, or (iii) organizing the discourse. This basic functional typology is confirmed in almost all descriptive studies, and so far, no other functions have been distinguished for insubordinate constructions. A

GERMAN (Durrell 1997: 387; cited in Evans 2007: 371)

- In the second stage the main clause is ellipsed, but any grammatically compatible main clause can be reconstructed and there “appear to be no grounds for claiming semantic restrictions on the restored materials” (Evans 2007: 371). This is shown in (5) and (6), which illustrate just two of the possible main clauses that can be reconstructed for the independent complement clause ‘whether this word order is permissible’:

GERMAN (Weuster 1983: 38; cited in Evans 2007: 372)

- In the third stage, the (originally) 'subordinate' clause develops a more conventionalized meaning, so that some grammatically possible main clauses become excluded by convention. This is illustrated in the structure in (7), where the conditional clause expresses an offer, a meaning that is conventionalized to such an extent that no negative consequent clauses can be reconstructed:

GERMAN (Evans 2007: 373)

- (7) **Wenn Sie sich vielleicht die Hände waschen möchten**
COND you REFL maybe the hands wash.INF like.to.PST.SBJV
'If you'd like to wash your hands'
a. *[können Sie das hier tun.]*
[you can do so here.]'
b. # *[können Sie das nicht tun.]*
[you cannot do it.]'

In the fourth and final stage of Evans' (2007) proposal, the erstwhile subordinate clause has been reanalyzed as a main clause in its own right, with a conventionalized meaning and a constructionalized form. When the construction has reached this stage, the reconstruction of a main clause may no longer be possible. Evans (2007: 374) illustrates this final stage with the independent concessive *wo*-clause in (8), for which no main clause can be reconstituted:¹

GERMAN (Buscha 1976: 278; cited in Evans 2007: 374)

- (8) **Wo Zehntausende verrecken müssen.**
although ten.thousands die.INF must.PRS
'Even though ten thousands must die.'

Evans' (2007) proposal is based on synchronic data, using differences in the constructionalization of insubordinate structures to develop a hypothesis about their development. So far, almost no diachronic corpus research has been carried out on insubordination (but see Gras 2013 for an exception). Still, many studies refer to Evans' (2007) analysis as an explanation for the development of specific types of insubordinate constructions, and so far this proposed development has not explicitly been refuted. Some authors invoke additional mechanisms to explain the development of specific types of insubordination (e.g. Van linden & Van de Velde 2014 on complement insubordination in Dutch as a case of hypo-analysis, or Heine, Kaltenböck & Kuteva forthcoming on conditional insubordination in English as a case of cooptation), but these hypotheses merely complement Evans' (2007) proposal rather than functioning as alternative explanations.

¹ Evans (2007: 374) argues that if the subordinator *obwohl* 'although' were used instead of *wo*, it would be possible to reconstruct a main clause, as in the following example:

GERMAN (Buscha 1976: 278; cited in Evans 2007: 374)

- (1) **Obwohl Zehntausende verrecken müssen, machen sie sich keine Gedanken darüber.**
'Even though tens of thousands must die, they don't think twice about it.'

In spite of the recent surge in the literature on insubordination, however, there is much work that remains to be done. Even for well-described languages like the Germanic ones, independent subordinate clauses are under-described (as will become clear in the following chapters), and from a more theoretical perspective many questions remain about what insubordination is and how it has developed. This thesis aims to contribute to the literature on both levels.

Organization of this study

In the first part of this thesis, I present a descriptive analysis of two specific types of insubordination, i.e. independent complement clauses and independent conditional clauses. As already mentioned, these constructions are studied in a set of six Germanic languages, i.e. English, German, Dutch, Swedish, Danish and Icelandic. Although some independent complement and conditional constructions (from now on: ICCs) have been analyzed in the literature on some of these languages, I show that there are still significant gaps in the descriptive literature. After a brief introduction that positions my descriptive work with respect to the existing literature and introduces the data on which this study is based, Chapter 1 presents a constructional typology of independent complement clauses. I show that these constructions can be analyzed in terms of four basic semantic categories (deontic, evaluative, assertive and elaborative), each of which has a wide range of types and subtypes. In Chapter 2 I do the same for independent conditional clauses, for which six basic categories can be distinguished (deontic, evaluative, assertive, argumentative, reasoning and post-modifying). It will become clear that both types of constructions are extremely productive in the six languages studied here, but that there are also significant differences in the availability of the different types across the languages.

In the second part of this thesis I use this data set to address some of the more general questions that have been raised in the literature, and I also introduce some questions of my own. In Chapter 3 I trace the boundaries of insubordination by investigating whether all of the ICCs identified in this study can be analyzed as insubordinate. I show that while such an analysis works for most of the types, some constructions can better be accounted for as instances of a different mechanism from the literature on complex sentences, i.e. dependency shift. Chapter 4 then zooms in on those constructions that are insubordinate, and investigates how these different structures cluster together. From a semantic perspective, I use my data to test existing claims about the typical meanings and functions of insubordination. I show that although existing generalizations about insubordination as a mechanism for the expression of interpersonal meanings are confirmed, these generalizations are not sufficiently precise to predict which types of interpersonal meanings are found and which ones are not, and to explain the differences in distribution of the types among the languages studied here.

From a constructional perspective, I argue that in spite of their similarity in form, different types of ICCs cannot be analyzed as instances of one or two schematic types of insubordination. Instead, I show that there are a number of arguments which suggest that they are to be interpreted as separate constructions, most likely resulting from separate developmental pathways. Since this thesis is based on synchronic data, I do not explicitly test Evans' (2007) hypothesis about the development of insubordination. However, at various points in the two theoretical chapters I will show that my data do allow us to say something about the likely development of the different constructions. After the theoretical discussions in Chapters 3 and 4, I present the main conclusions of this thesis and round off with a number of suggestions for further research.

Part I: Typology

Introduction

In the first part of this study, I develop a descriptive typology of independent complement and conditional constructions (ICCs). These findings will serve as the basis for a more general discussion of the nature and boundaries of insubordination in the second part of the study. In Chapter 1 I focus on independent complement clauses, like the German structure in (1), and in Chapter 2 I analyze independent conditional clauses, like the Dutch structure in (2).

GERMAN (Verstraete & D’Hertefelt forthcoming)

- (1) *Dass er auch immer alles fressen muss!*
COMP he PRT always everything eat.INF must.PRS
‘Why does he always have to eat everything!’ [lit.: That he always has ...]

DUTCH (CGN)

- (2) A: *als u uzelf even kort introduceert en uw vraag stelt*
COND you REFL briefly briefly introduce.PRS and your question ask.PRS
‘if you briefly introduce yourself and ask your question
B: *mijn naam is Bongers van de gemeente Arnhem*
my name is Bongers of the municipality of Arnhem’

For each of these two types, I develop a constructional typology which describes the meanings of the different subtypes, and how these differences in meaning are reflected in the form of the constructions.

The study of ICCs is of course not virgin territory in the Germanic languages, as both types have been discussed to some extent, for most of the languages studied here. A detailed overview of the literature is presented in the next two chapters, but in this introduction I provide a broad outline of how these constructions have been treated so far, and what my analysis adds to what we already know. After this, I introduce the data on which this study is based.

Contributions to the literature

There is quite a bit of literature on ICCs in Germanic languages, but I believe the constructional typologies I present in Chapters 1 and 2 can add to the literature in three important ways. A first contribution is that my analysis complements the existing literature with new insights on the basis of additional corpus research. As it is, the descriptive literature is still quite fragmentary, both in terms of the types

that are distinguished and the languages that are covered. While some types of constructions have received considerable attention, I will also identify a number of construction types that have so far remained under the radar. Furthermore, while there is a fair amount of studies on specific types of ICCs for Dutch, German, English and Swedish, this is virtually non-existent for the two other languages in my sample, i.e. Danish and Icelandic. In this sense, my work fills a significant descriptive gap in the literature for the six individual languages. Obviously, I do not wish to claim that the classifications presented here are comprehensive. It is very likely that further corpus research will bring to light more types of ICCs in these six languages, or that particular constructions actually occur in more languages than indicated here. However, the typologies presented in the next two chapters are more extensive than any existing classification for the languages studied here, and I hope that they can function as a starting point for further comparative and language-specific investigations.

A second contribution of my work lies in the range of languages studied. While much of the descriptive literature focuses on independent subordinate clauses in one language, with occasional reference to similar constructions in related languages, as far as I know this is the first extensive study of (specific types of) independent subordinate clauses in a set of related languages. This cross-linguistic perspective has a number of advantages. First, it yields a larger set of construction types than a focus on one language would, as not all the constructions which I distinguish are attested in all the languages under investigation, and none of the individual languages displays the entire range of constructions observed. In addition, in the second part of this study I will show that cross-linguistic differences in the constructional marking and the availability of the different types also tell us something about insubordination more generally, as they seem to suggest that the different constructions are the result of language-specific processes of constructionalization.²

A final contribution to the literature concerns the type of classification which I develop, which is quite different from the classifications available in the existing literature (I list a few representative references here – as already mentioned, more detailed references can be found in the next two chapters). There are a few studies that classify different types largely on the basis of syntactic criteria, e.g. the verbal mood selected by a construction, its polarity (positive or negative), or the extent to which a main clause can be reconstructed (e.g. Buscha 1976;

² For some of the languages under investigation, earlier work has shown that there may also be regional differences in the availability of specific construction types within one language (e.g. Lehti-Eklund 2001: 111 for differences between Sweden Swedish and Finland Swedish, or Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 128 for differences between Flemish Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch). In this study I will not take into account regional variation, so when I say that a particular construction is attested in a specific language, this means that it is attested in *at least one variety* of that language.

Oppenrieder 1989; Stirling 1999). While such studies do identify different types of ICCs, their reliance on syntactic criteria can lead to unintuitive classifications, in which constructions with very similar functions end up in completely different categories. The majority of classifications of ICCs, however, seem to be based on a largely implicit set of semantic/pragmatic parameters, sometimes in combination with formal criteria (e.g. Weuster 1983; Altmann 1987; Declerck & Reed 2001; Panther & Thornburg 2003, 2005; Boogaart & Verheij 2013). In such studies, different speech act-like labels are used to distinguish between types. Authors use labels like ‘request’, ‘order’, ‘suggestion’, ‘expression of surprise’, ‘expression of regret’ for specific examples, and then group these different types together under broader labels like ‘directive’, ‘deontic’ or ‘exclamative’. While these classifications often seem more intuitive than classifications based on syntactic criteria, the use of speech act-derived labels is frequently quite arbitrary. For example, while it may seem intuitive to group constructions labeled ‘requests’ and ‘suggestions’ in one ‘directive’ category, the precise reasons for doing so often remain unclear. Sometimes formal features are mentioned which may help to distinguish between the types, but very often there is little explicit attention to formal marking. As it is, many classifications lack an explanation of the parameters underlying the analysis. This type of approach can also lead to confusion between semantic and pragmatic aspects of interpretation. For instance, consider the following Dutch example:

- DUTCH (IC)
- (3) *“En dat je maar niet denkt dat je een roze kleding
and COMP you PRT NEG think.PRS COMP you a pink dress
met een strik gaat krijgen”, beet ik mini en krul toe.
with a bow go.PRS get.INF
“And don’t think you’ll get a pink dress with a bow”, I snapped at mini
and curl.’ [lit.: And that you don’t think that...]
(<https://zapnimf.wordpress.com/page/14/>, 21/08/2015)*

From a semantic point of view, this construction expresses a prohibition: what it encodes is a potential action (thinking something) which the speaker does not want the addressee to realize. However, because this structure uses a verb of cognition (‘think’), these constructions pragmatically come to serve as an assertion of the opposite: *don’t think that you’ll get such a dress* is used as a way to state that *you won’t get such a dress*. In a typology based on speech act values, such constructions would be classified as assertions, while the basic meaning encoded by their form is unambiguously that of a directive (see further in Chapter 1).

The analysis I present in the next two chapters is significantly different from most existing approaches, in the sense that it is based on a clear set of underlying semantic principles. Different types and subtypes of ICCs are distinguished on the basis of principled semantic parameters, so that each label is connected to an

explicit definition. In addition, I investigate how the semantics of each of the types is reflected in the formal features of the construction. The result is a principled constructional typology (in the sense of Goldberg 1995, 2006) of ICCs, which specifies what is typical of each construction type, and how it is similar to and different from other construction types. A further advantage of this approach is that it allows us to distinguish between the meaning of a construction and how it is used in a particular context, i.e. between semantics and pragmatics. As I indicated for example (3) above, the encoded meaning of a construction may be very different from the way it is used, but because of the lack of explicit semantic motivation in most existing approaches this distinction is not often made.

Data and languages

In this section I present a brief overview of the data on which this study is based. I first discuss how complementation and conditionality are typically marked in the six Germanic languages I investigate, and which specific types of ICCs I will look at. I then describe the data sources I used.

Let us start with an overview of complementation. Complementation has been defined as “the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate” (Noonan 2007: 52). In the languages under investigation, complement clauses can be marked in a number of different ways, as has been argued amongst others by Thompson (2002: 126) for English, Haeseryn et al. (1997 section 10.3.2.1) for Dutch, Fabricius-Hansen et al. (2009: 1042) for German, Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson (2010 vol. 4: 523) for Swedish, Hansen & Heltoft (2011: 1487) for Danish and Thráinsson (1994: 183) for Icelandic. In their most typical form, complement clauses are introduced by the complementizer *that* in English, *dat* in Dutch, *dass* in German, *att* in Swedish, *at* in Danish or *að* in Icelandic. In some of these languages this complementizer can be left out in some contexts (e.g. Thompson & Mulac 1991 for English; Boye & Poulsen 2009 for Danish; Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson 2010 vol. 4: 523 for Swedish; Auer 1998 for German). All languages also use an alternative complementizer to introduce indirect polar questions, i.e. English *if*, Dutch *of*, German *ob*, Swedish *om*, Danish *om* or Icelandic *hvort*. In this study I will focus exclusively on constructions introduced by the standard complementizer ‘that’.

In addition to the use of complementizers, German, Dutch, Danish and Swedish also have a specific word order pattern to distinguish between main clauses and subordinate clauses,³ and complement clauses introduced by a complementizer typically have a ‘subordinate’ word order. In German and Dutch, main clause word order is verb-second, as is illustrated in (4a) and (5a) where the

³ There is no such word order distinction in English and Icelandic (e.g. Verstraete 2007: 181; Thráinsson 1994: 184).

finite verb (Dutch *komt* ‘comes’, German *geht* ‘goes’) is found immediately after the subject. Subordinate word order, on the other hand, is verb-final, as is illustrated in (4b) and (5b) where the verb takes up the final position in the clause (Haeseryn et al. 1997 section 21.2.1 for Dutch; Fabricius-Hansen et al. 2009: 862 for German).

DUTCH (IC)

- (4) a. *Jan komt morgen naar de verjaardag van Beau!!!!*
 NAME come.PRS tomorrow to the birthday of NAME
 ‘Jan is coming to Beau’s birthday tomorrow!!!!’
 (<https://www.facebook.com/martin.vanalfen/posts/4443275764785>,
 05/08/2015)
- b. *Ik vind dat je ook nog 'ns visie moet hebben*
 I think.PRS COMP you also still once vision must.PRS have.INF
 ‘I think you also need vision’
 (<http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/-ik-vind-dat-je-ook-nog-ns-visie-moet-hebben~a624805/>, 13/08/2015)

GERMAN (IC)

- (5) a. *mein vater geht morgen zum "könig der löwen" musical.*
 my father go.PRS tomorrow to lion king musical
 ‘My father is going to the “Lion King” musical tomorrow.’
 (<https://twitter.com/hermsfarm/status/598510990498603008>, 18/08/2015)
- b. *Du weisst, dass ich dich liebe*
 you know.PRS COMP I you love.PRS
 ‘You know that I love you.’
 (<http://hitparade.ch/song/Michael-Morgan/Du-weisst,-dass-ich-Dich-liebe-132438>, 10/09/2015)

In Swedish and Danish, the distinction between ‘main clause’ and ‘subordinate clause’ word order depends on the position of the finite verb with respect to sentence adverbs or operators like negators (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 1569 for Danish; Telemann, Hellberg & Andersson 2010 vol. 4: 5 for Swedish). Main clauses typically display the so called FA-pattern, in which the finite verb precedes the adverb. This word order is illustrated in (6a) and (7a), where the finite verbs (Swedish *äter* ‘eat’, Danish *kan* ‘can’) precede the sentence adverb *gärna* ‘gladly’ or the negation *ikke* ‘not’. Subordinate clauses typically exhibit the AF-pattern in which the finite verb follows the adverb or negator. This is illustrated in the complement clauses in (6b) and (7b), where the finite verb follows the negation *inte* ‘not’ or the sentence adverb *altid* ‘always’:

SWEDISH (IC)

- (6) a. *Kung Carl Gustaf: Jag äter gärna kött*
 King NAME I eat.PRS gladly meat
 ‘King Carl Gustaf: I like to eat meat’ [lit.: I gladly eat meat]
 (<http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article10193463.ab>, 13/08/2015)
- b. *Det var bara synd att han inte kunde komma på*
 it be.PST PRT pity COMP he NEG can.PST come.INF on
någon orsak till att vara glad just då.
 a reason to INFM be.INF happy just then
 ‘It was just a pity that he couldn’t find a reason to be happy just then.’
 (Erik Granqvist. *Fruset leende*. 2014, accessed via Google Books, 10/09/2015)

DANISH (IC)

- (7) a. *Iniesta: Jeg kan ikke spille sammen med Xavi*
 NAME I can.PRS NEG play.INF together with NAME
 ‘Iniesta: I can’t play together with Xavi’
 (<http://footy.dk/2015/03/09/iniesta-jeg-kan-ikke-spille-sammen-med-xavi/>, 13/08/2015)
- b. *Jeg er den eneste kvinde, han [...] har elsket, og jeg er den eneste kvinde, der har givet ham omsorg,*
 ‘I am the only woman he [...] has loved, and I am the only woman that has taken care of him,
og han siger, at han altid vil vælge mig frem
 and he say.PRS COMP he always will.PRS choose.INF me before
for sin familie
 for his family
 and he says that he will always choose me over his family’
 (<http://www.hjemmet.dk/Brevkasser/Skriv-til-Vibeke/Brev-til-Vibeke-Jeg-kan-ikke-holde-min-svigerdatter-ud/?OverrideMobileDetection=true>, 05/08/2015)

However, different authors have argued that the dichotomy between subordinate and main clause word order in Danish, Swedish, German and Dutch is not as rigid as the labels might suggest, in the sense that ‘main clause’ order is sometimes also used in (some types of) subordinate clauses. For Danish and Swedish, quite a few authors have shown that complement clauses can also display the ‘main clause’ FA-pattern (e.g. Andersson 1975; Julien 2007 and Brandtler 2008 for Swedish; Heltoft 1992a, 1992b; Christensen 2007; Christensen & Heltoft 2010: 93 and Heltoft 2011 for Danish, also see Steensig 1998 for Danish *fordi* ‘because’ clauses). This has led them to analyze the FA-pattern as a “declarative” pattern, which signals that the content of the clause (be this a main or a subordinate clause) is “informative” (Christensen & Heltoft 2010: 94) or “foregrounded” (Jensen & Christensen 2013), whereas the AF-pattern is analyzed as a “neutral”, “non-declarative” pattern. In German and Dutch, ‘subordinate’ clauses introduced by a causal or concessive marker like German *weil* or Dutch

omdat, both meaning ‘because’, or German *obwohl* ‘although’ can have verb-second instead of verb-final word order (e.g. Küper 1991; Günthner 1993, 1996, 1999 for German; Persoon et al. 2010 for Dutch).

Let us now take a look at conditional clauses in the languages studied here. Conditional constructions of the type *if p, q* have been on the linguistic agenda for a long time and have been analyzed from a wide variety of perspectives. A study of conditionality as such is beyond the scope of this study, so here I will limit myself to referring to Dancygier’s (1998: 23) analysis, who argues that conditional *if*-clauses have three main functions: (i) at the most general level they set up a mental space, in the sense of Fauconnier (1985), (ii) at the lexical level *if* signals that “the speaker has reasons to present [the assumption which the *if*-clause refers to] as unassertable”, and (iii) at the constructional level *if*-clauses signal that the assumptions *p* and *q* are “connected in a given cognitive domain”.

As was the case for complementation, in the Germanic languages conditionality can be marked in a number of different ways, as has been shown for instance by Dancygier & Sweetser (2005: 7) for English, Haeseryn et al. (1997 section 10.3.8) for Dutch, Köpcke & Panther (1989: 685) for German, Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson (2010 vol. 4: 643) for Swedish, Hansen & Heltoft (2011: 1493) for Danish and Thráinsson (1994: 181) for Icelandic. Conditional clauses can be introduced by a number of subordinators, the most typical of which are English *if*, Dutch *als*, German *wenn*, Swedish *om*, Danish *hvis* or Icelandic *ef*.⁴ Swedish and Danish have an additional conditional subordinator *bara* or *bare* respectively, which has a more specific meaning than the general conditional subordinator in that it signals a “necessary and sufficient condition”, as in the following example (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 1554 for Danish; Rosenkvist 2004: 75 and Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson 2010 vol. 4: 653 for Swedish).

SWEDISH (Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson 2010 vol. 4: 653)

- (8) *Lars fick röka bara han gjorde det hemma.*
 NAME be.allowed.PST smoke.INF COND he do.PST DEM home
 ‘Lars was allowed to smoke as long as he did it at home.’

Another way to mark conditionality in all the languages under investigation is with verb-first word order, as in the following example:

⁴ In English and Swedish, the conditional subordinator has the same form as the complementizer for indirect polar questions, e.g. *if* or *om*. I will show in Chapter 2 that this sometimes causes confusion when *if*- or *om*-clauses are used independently, as it is not always clear if these constructions should be interpreted as conditional or complement clauses.

ENGLISH (IC)

- (9) *Oprah on OWN network: “Had I known that it was this difficult, I might have done something else.”*

(http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/tv-column/post/oprah-on-own-network-had-i-known-that-it-was-this-difficult-i-might-have-done-something-else/2012/04/02/gIQAkQlqS_blog.html, 17/08/2015)

In this study, I limit myself to an analysis of independent conditional clauses introduced by the standard conditional subordinator ‘if’. In addition to this subordinator, such construction are typically marked by ‘subordinate’ word order in those languages where there is such a distinction. This is illustrated in the Dutch and German examples in (10) and (11), where the verb occurs in final position, and in the Swedish and Danish examples in (12) and (13), where the finite verb precedes the negator or sentence adverb:⁵

DUTCH (IC)

- (10) *Als je morgen ook komt kun je het beste de
COND you tomorrow also come.PRS can.PRS you the best the
sleutel houden en hem morgen pas inleveren.
key keep.INF and it tomorrow only hand.in.INF
‘If you are also coming tomorrow, it’s best to keep the key and hand it in tomorrow.’*

(<http://www.clublifemagazine.nl/reports/party-report-rebirth-festival-dag-2-13-april-2014/>, 13/08/2015)

GERMAN (IC)

- (11) *Über Haie werden viele Dinge erzählt, die nicht stimmen.
‘Many things are said about sharks which are not true.*

⁵ As far as I know, none of the studies on word order mentions the possibility of ‘main clause’ or ‘declarative’ word order in subordinate conditional clauses. However, at least in Danish this order does seem to be possible in some contexts, as is illustrated in the following example where the negator follows the finite verb:

DANISH (IC)

- (2) *Hvad gør jeg, hvis jeg har ikke modtaget min regning?*

‘What do I do when I haven’t received my bill?’

(<https://www.canaldigital.dk/kundeservice/sporgsmal-og-svar/Abonnement/betaling-og-regning/>, 13/08/2015)

However, as will become clear in Chapter 2, all my examples of independent conditional clauses in the Germanic languages have ‘subordinate’ word order. I will therefore not pursue this issue any further here.

Man sagt auch von ihnen, sie ersticken, wenn sie
 one say.PRS also about them they suffocate.PRS COND they
sich nicht bewegen.
 REFL NEG move.INF

It is also said that they suffocate if they do not move.'

(<http://www.wasistwas.de/archiv-natur-tiere-details/stimmt-es-dass-haie-nur-atmen-koennen-wenn-sie-sich-bewegen-1.html>, 17/08/2015)

DANISH (IC)

- (12) *Hvad sker der hvis jeg ikke betaler regninger og*
 what happen.PRS there COND I NEG pay.PRS bills and
gæld?
 debt

'What happens if I don't pay bills and debts?'

(<http://www.raadtilpenge.dk/da/Gode-raad/gaeld/hvis-du-ikke-betaler-regninger.aspx>, 13/08/2015)

SWEDISH (IC)

- (13) *Om du aldrig har varit här så åk inte*
 COND you never have.PRS be.PPART here so come.IMP NEG

'If you've never been here, don't come [here]'

(http://www.tripadvisor.se/ShowUserReviews-g670156-d2298888-r155834741-Laisalidens_Fjallhotell-Hemavan_Vasterbotten_County.html, 13/08/2015)

This study is based on authentic data, which are taken from two main types of sources. First of all, for all languages studied here except Icelandic, I have collected examples of ICCs from a number of spoken language corpora, i.e. the *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* (CGN; 'Spoken Dutch Corpus'), the *Datenbank für Gesprochenes Deutsch* (DGD; 'Database of Spoken German'), the spoken part of the *Collins WordBanks Online* corpus for English, the *Göteborg Spoken Language Corpus* (GSLC) for Swedish and the *BySoc*-corpus for Danish (see the reference section for more information on these corpora). I have selected spoken language corpora because, as noted by Evans (2007: 369), insubordinate clauses often "lie at the uncomfortable boundary between parole and langue, where it is not always clear when grammar has emerged from discourse". In order to improve readability, I have removed some of the corpus-specific annotation of the context of the different corpus-examples (like markers indicating reduced pronunciations), with the exception of the markers listed in Table 1. No other modifications have been made to the examples.

In addition to spoken language corpora, a second major source of examples for all six languages is a personal corpus of internet material. Examples from this corpus are marked by (IC), and are always followed by their URLs and the last date of access. Furthermore, for Swedish, Danish and Icelandic I have done additional

Corpus	Marker	Meaning
CGN	<i>ggg</i>	clearly audible, non-linguistic speaker sounds, e.g. laughter
	<i>xxx</i>	unintelligible or non-transcribed speech
BySoc	£	Break
	#	Pause filled with breathing
GSLC	/	Short break
	//	Longer break
All examples	CAPITAL LETTERS	Obligatory stress

Table 1. Transcription conventions corpus examples.

elicitation work with native speakers,⁶ which resulted in some constructed examples that are marked by (C). All ICCs cited in this study, except the English ones, are glossed and translated in accordance with the Leipzig Glossing Rules;⁷ a key to the abbreviations used in the glosses can be found at the beginning of this study. In general, morphological detail is kept to a minimum in the glosses. In those languages where there is a productive mood distinction between indicative and subjunctive, i.e. German and Icelandic, I gloss verbs for mood and tense; in the other four languages, where the indicative mood is the default one and use of the subjunctive is limited to some (archaic) contexts, I only gloss for tense.

⁶ This elicitation work was carried out during two research stays: one in May-June 2012 at the Universities of Copenhagen and Lund, and one in February 2013 at the University of Iceland in Reykjavik.

⁷ The Leipzig Glossing Rules are available online at <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php> (last accessed 10/09/2015).

CHAPTER 1

A constructional typology of independent complement clauses

1 Introduction

This chapter offers a descriptive analysis of independent complement clauses in six Germanic languages, i.e. constructions introduced by the complementizers *that*, Dutch *dat*, German *dass*, Swedish *att*, Danish *at* and Icelandic *að*, and used without an immediately accompanying main clause. Some examples include the following:

DUTCH (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 130)

- (1) *Dat je nog vele jaren in goede gezondheid TL kan*
COMP you PRT many years in good health NAME can.PRS
verblijden met je kiekjes!
please.INF with your pictures
‘I hope you can please TL [name of a club] with your photos for many years to come, in good health.’ [lit.: That you for many years may...]

ICELANDIC (Petersson 2011: 206)

- (2) *Að María skuli vera hér!*
COMP NAME shall.PRS.SBJV be.INF here
‘[I’m amazed] That Maria should be here!’

GERMAN (Maekelberghe 2011: 34)

- (3) *Mhmh. Und können Sie nun die alten Tischler, die gewandert haben, von denen, die nun überhaupt nicht gewandert haben, auseinanderkennen?*
‘Mmm. And can you distinguish the old carpenters, who have travelled around, from those who haven’t travelled at all?’
Daß man nun sagen würde, die haben mehr
COMP one now say.INF will.PST.SBJV these have.PRS.IND more
Erfahrung, mehr...
experience more
That one would say now, these have more experience, more...’

These examples illustrate that independent complement clauses can express many different meanings. In (1), the complement clause expresses the speaker’s wish that someone may stay healthy and active for a long time. The construction in (2) signals the speaker’s surprise at a given fact, i.e. that Maria is present. In (3),

the complement clause serves to elaborate on an element of the previous discourse, as the construction is used to further explain the speaker's previous question.

Independent complement clauses have been discussed in the literature for German (Buscha 1976; Weuster 1983; Altmann 1987; Schlobinski 1988; Oppenrieder 1989; Thurmair 1989; Rosengren 1992; Panther & Thornburg 2011; Grosz 2012; d'Avis 2013; Mertzlufft & Wide 2013), Swedish (Lehti-Eklund 2001; Anward 2003; Lyngfelt 2003; Lindström & Londen 2008; Delsing 2010; Petersson 2011; Mertzlufft & Wide 2013; D'Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014; Wide 2014), Dutch (Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012), Danish (Christensen 2009; Christensen & Heltoft 2010; D'Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014), and for all of these four languages plus English from a comparative perspective (Verstraete & D'Hertefelt forthcoming). Except for fragmentary discussion of isolated examples, Icelandic independent complement clauses have received almost no attention so far.⁸

Much of the literature focuses on specific types of independent complement clauses, and analyzes them as instances of particular functions or types of speech act, often together with alternative expression forms for the same speech act. For instance, constructions like (1) have frequently been analyzed as 'optatives', together with other constructions with a similar function (e.g. Grosz 2012). In addition, quite a few authors (e.g. Rosengren 1992; Christensen 2009; Christensen & Heltoft 2010; Delsing 2010; Petersson 2011; d'Avis 2013) analyze constructions like (2) as instances of an 'expressive' or 'exclamative' speech act, together with other exclamative constructions. Furthermore, a number of studies focus on the discourse functions of constructions like (3), most notably in Swedish (Lehti-Eklund 2001; Anward 2003; Lyngfelt 2003; Lindström & Londen 2008; Wide 2014), German (Schlobinski 1988) or both of these languages (Mertzlufft & Wide 2013). Although many of these studies offer detailed descriptions, their focus on one specific construction does not tell us anything about how these types relate to other types of independent complement clauses.

In addition to the literature focusing on specific subtypes, some authors offer classifications of different types of independent complement clauses. This is particularly the case for German, where there is some literature on 'independent verb-final sentences' (*selbständige Verb-letzt Sätze*, e.g. Buscha 1976; Weuster 1983; Altmann 1987; Oppenrieder 1989). These studies focus on different types of independent subordinate clauses (i.e. not only independent complement clauses, but also, for instance, independent conditional clauses), but the classifications presented in these works remain largely pragmatic in orientation. That is, different functional types of independent complement clauses are described, but

⁸ References to these descriptions are provided in the discussion of specific types further on in this chapter.

there is no principled account of the parameters that are used to define each of these types and to distinguish them from one another.

In this chapter I present a principled constructional classification of independent complement clauses in the six Germanic languages under investigation, based on classifications presented in our earlier work (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012; D’Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014; Verstraete & D’Hertefelt forthcoming). I show that independent complement clauses can be analyzed in terms of four basic semantic categories, which will be called deontic, evaluative, assertive and elaborative.

First, I use the label deontic for constructions that evaluate a potential State of Affairs (SoA) in terms of desirability. An example is the ‘wish’ structure in (1) above; a further example is given in (4):

GERMAN (Oppenrieder 1989: 197)

- (4) *Dass du nur JA deine Aufsätze rechtzeitig fertigbringst!*
 COMP you PRT PRT your essays in.time finish.PRS.IND
 ‘Make sure you finish your essays in time!’ [lit.: That you finish...]

Evaluative constructions are constructions which evaluate an actual SoA in terms of expectedness. An example of such a construction is given in (2) above, and in (5):

SWEDISH (IC)

- (5) *Du-påstående lägger allt ansvar på den andre. Ofta förstärkt med generaliseringar, typ;*
 ‘You-claims pass all the responsibility to the other person. Often strengthened by generalizations, like;
 – **Att du aldrig kan passa tider!**
 COMP you never can.PRS watch.INF times
 – **Why can’t you ever watch the time!** [lit.: That you can never watch the time!]
 – *Du är ju helt hopplös! – Varför tänker du bara på dig själv!?*
 – You are really hopeless! – Why do you only think of yourself!?’
 (http://issuu.com/danielheiniemi/docs/o4u05_tr/19,24/09/2014)

A third type of independent complement clauses are assertive constructions, i.e. independent complement clauses that are used to state emphatically that something is the case. This type is illustrated in (6) below:

DUTCH (IC)⁹

- (6) [comment on a picture showing a table filled with glasses of champagne]
En dat we goed afgesloten hebben..
 and COMP we well finish.PPART have.PRS
 'We sure finished in style..' [lit.: And that we finished in style..]
 (<http://www.pikore.com/kristiends>, 17/07/2015)

Finally, elaborative complement constructions are used to further elaborate on an element from the preceding discourse. An example was given in (3) above; a further example is given in (7):

SWEDISH (GSLC)

- (7) A: *finns det nån motsättning mellan natur å teknik*
 'is there a contrast between nature and technology'
 B: **att naturen skulle sträva åt ett håll å**
 COMP nature should strive.INF to one direction and
that nature should strive in one direction and
 A: *ja*
 yes
 B: **eh tekniken åt ett annat**
 INTERJ technology to an other
technology in another
 A: *skulle vara oförenliga på något sätt i grunden eller*
 should [they] be fundamentally incompatible in one way or another or
 B: *näe inte om man äh strävar efter å tämja naturen*
 no not if one strives to tame nature'

These four semantic categories are discussed in more detail in the following four sections. For each of these four categories I provide a basic definition, and I show that further subtypes can be distinguished on the basis of additional semantic and formal criteria. I will also show that there is quite a bit of diversity among the languages studied here, in that some languages allow a much broader range than others. In Section 6, I summarize the most important findings.

2 Deontic constructions

In this section, I discuss complement constructions like (1) and (4) above, repeated here as (8) and (9):

⁹ I thank Freek Van de Velde for sharing this example with me.

DUTCH (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 130)

- (8) *Dat je nog vele jaren in goede gezondheid TL kan
 COMP you PRT many years in good health NAME can.PRS
 verblijden met je kiekjes!
 please.INF with your pictures
 ‘I hope you can please TL [name of a club] with your photos for many
 years to come, in good health.’ [lit.: That you for many years may...]*

GERMAN (Oppenrieder 1989: 197)

- (9) *Dass du nur JA deine Aufsätze rechtzeitig fertigbringst!
 COMP you PRT PRT your essays in.time finish.PRS.IND
 ‘Make sure you finish your essays in time!’ [lit.: That you finish...]*

Both of these constructions refer to a potential SoA (‘you may stay active and healthy for a long time’, ‘you finish your essays in time’) that is evaluated by the speaker in terms of desirability. Following Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden (2012: 129), I will use the general label ‘deontic’ for all such independent complement clauses.¹⁰

Within this broad deontic category, two subtypes can be distinguished on the basis of the parameter of control. This parameter was first introduced by Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden (2012: 129) in our discussion of Dutch independent complement clauses, and captures two related issues, i.e. (i) whether the potential realization of the desirable SoA is presented as being controlled by the addressee or not,¹¹ and (ii) whether the speaker presents themselves in their utterance as influencing this potential realization or not.

Uncontrolled deontic constructions refer to a potential SoA that is evaluated as desirable, but the potential realization of this SoA is presented as not being controlled by the addressee. This is the case in (8) above, where it is clear that it is not (only) the addressee who controls if they will stay active and healthy for a long time still. Furthermore, the speaker’s role in uncontrolled constructions is limited to expressing their commitment to the desirability of the potential SoA: the complement clause in (8) expresses that the speaker wants the addressee to stay active and healthy, but their utterance will not have any influence on

¹⁰ I am aware that this is a fairly broad use of the term ‘deontic’, but this allows us to better capture what the constructions discussed in this section have in common, and how they can be distinguished from the other types of independent complement clauses, i.e. the evaluative, assertive and elaborative constructions that will be discussed in Sections 3 to 5. For a similar use of the term ‘deontic’ in a classification of independent complement clauses, see Truckenbrodt (2006: 269).

¹¹ In my discussion of deontic constructions, I use the term ‘addressee’ to refer to the person responsible for carrying out the desired action. As I will show below, this can be the hearer, marked by second person forms, or it can be a third-person (perhaps not present in the context).

whether this will be the case or not. Uncontrolled deontic constructions have typically been called ‘optatives’ or ‘wishes’ in the literature, and will be discussed in more detail in Section 2.1.

Controlled deontic constructions also refer to a potential SoA, but here the realization of the SoA is presented as being controlled by the addressee. This is the case in (9) above, where the speaker signals that they expect the addressee to finish their essays in time. Furthermore, the speaker’s role in such constructions is more ‘directive’ than in uncontrolled constructions, as they do not merely signal that they want something to happen, but influence the potential realization of this SoA by specifically telling someone to do this. Controlled deontic constructions have often received labels such as ‘orders’ or ‘prohibitions’, and will be discussed in more detail in Section 2.2.

2.1 Uncontrolled deontic constructions

An example of an uncontrolled deontic structure was given in (8) above; further examples are given in (10) to (13) below:

GERMAN (Maekelberghe 2011: 21)

- (10) *Die Diplomatin antwortete mit einem Lächeln: „Die Kühe hier sind größer als die von Präsident Bush.*

‘The diplomat answered with a smile: “The cows here are bigger than those of President Bush.

***Dass er bloss nicht beleidigt ist.*“**

COMP he PRT NEG offended be.PRS.IND

[I hope] ***That he’s not offended.*”**

DUTCH (IC)

- (11) *Welkom Anja en*

‘Welcome Anja and

dat je nog maar heel lang onze dirigente mag zijn!

COMP you PRT PRT very long our conductor may.PRS be.INF

that you may stay on as our conductor for a very long time!

(<http://www.sound-around.nl/NIEUWS.html>, 01/10/2014)

ENGLISH (IC)

- (12) [comment on a picture of an antenna]

Greetings fellow hams. No, the antenna shown above is not mine, I only WISH it were! [...]

Oh, that I only had room in my backyard.

(<http://www.wcrtc.net/~flaughter/N9AAT.htm>, 01/10/2014)

GERMAN (Grosz 2012: 7)

- (13) *Ach, dass ihre Schiffe unsere Ufer doch nur nie erreicht*
 INTERJ COMP their ships our shores PRT PRT NEG reach.PPART
hätten!
 have.PST.SBJV
 ‘Oh, if only their ships hadn’t reached our shores!’ [lit.: That their ships
 hadn’t ...]

All of these constructions are used to signal that the speaker wishes something to happen, e.g. that President Bush will not be offended in (10), that someone may stay on as conductor in (11), that the speaker would have room for an antenna in their backyard in (12), and that a fleet of ships had not arrived in (13). In none of these examples is the addressee (if there is one) presented as being ‘in control’ of the potential realization of the desirable SoA, and the speaker’s role is limited to expressing their commitment to the desirability of these SoAs. In the literature, constructions like these have received labels like ‘optative’ (Grosz 2012 on Germanic languages), ‘desiderative’ (Truckenbrodt 2006: 269 for German) and most frequently ‘wish’ (Lehti-Eklund 2001: 86 for Swedish; Weuster 1983: 50, Altmann 1987: 35, 41, Truckenbrodt 2013: 237 for German; see also a brief reference in De Rooy 1965: 117 for Dutch). Following Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden (2012), I adopt the broader label ‘uncontrolled deontic’ for constructions like (10) to (13) because this captures their semantics in a straightforward way, and because it makes clear how these constructions are different from the ‘controlled deontic’ structures to be discussed in Section 2.2. For ease of reference, however, I will use the term ‘wish’ when discussing specific types and instances of uncontrolled deontic constructions in the next few sections.

Within the uncontrolled deontic category, four subtypes can be distinguished, depending on (i) whether the potential realization of the desirable SoA is evaluated as possible, improbable or impossible, and (ii) – in the case of the first subtype (realization assessed as possible) – whether this potential realization is located in the near or the distant future. The four examples above illustrate these four types. In (10), the speaker expresses their wish that a desirable SoA (President Bush is not offended) is realized in the present or immediate future, and its potential realization is evaluated as possible. These constructions will be called ‘potential short-range wishes’. The complement clause in (11) also refers to a potential SoA whose realization is evaluated as possible, but here the potential realization is projected into the distant future. Such constructions will be called ‘potential long-range wishes’. Constructions like (12) refer to an SoA that could be realized in the present or distant future, but whose realization is evaluated as improbable. These constructions will be termed ‘irrealis wishes’. Finally, complement clauses like (13) refer to desirable SoAs whose potential realization lies in the past. The speaker marks the potential realization of these wishes as impossible, so I will call them ‘counterfactual wishes’.

These four types of wishes have not been consistently distinguished in the literature so far, and have not all received the same amount of attention. While some authors discuss only one type of wish, others discuss examples of different types but do not explicitly distinguish them from each other. Still others do distinguish various types of wishes, but come up with a classification different from mine. In the next four sections I discuss these four types of wishes in more detail, indicating for each type in which language(s) they are available.

2.1.1 Potential short-range wishes

In this section, I discuss wishes like (10) above, and (14) to (15) below:

DUTCH (IC)

- (14) *Sebiet is opt gemakske beginnen te koken se. Woensdag = kookdag. Vanalles invriezen, voorbereiden.*

'Soon I'll start cooking, at leisure. Wednesday = cooking day. Lots of things to freeze, prepare.

Dat dat maar rap gedaan is;-)

COMP DEM PRT soon do.PPART be.PRS

[I hope] **That it may be over soon** [smiley]'

(<http://www.femistyle.be/forums/gezonde-voeding-amp%3B-dieet/43894-prote%EFnedit-deel-8-a-55.html>, 09/09/2014)

GERMAN (Oppenrieder 1989: 199)

- (15) *Daß du dich nur nicht erkältest!*

COMP YOU REFL PRT NEG catch.cold.PRS.IND

'[I hope] That you don't catch a cold!'

The complement clause in (14) expresses the speaker's wish that the cooking will be over soon, and in (15) the speaker wishes for the addressee not to catch a cold. Constructions like these have been discussed for Dutch (Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 130; Verstraete & D'Hertefelt forthcoming) and for German (Oppenrieder 1989: 200; Thurmair 1989: 55; Maekelberghe 2011: 20; Grosz 2012: 7; Verstraete & D'Hertefelt forthcoming). Grosz (2012) describes constructions like (15) as 'non-counterfactual optatives', Oppenrieder (1989) as wishes, while our own earlier work uses the label 'short-range wish'. I will adopt this label here, adding the further specification 'potential', so as to be able to better distinguish constructions like the above from the irrealis and counterfactual wishes which will be discussed in Sections 2.1.3 and 2.1.4. So far, it looks as if potential short-range wishes only occur in Dutch and German, as I have not found any examples in my data for Danish, Swedish, English and Icelandic, and they are not discussed in the literature on these languages either.

Potential short-range wishes refer to a potential SoA which the speaker hopes will be realized in the present or the near future. In these constructions, no further clue is given as to whether the speaker thinks their wish will be realized or not: the speaker merely evaluates the SoA as desirable. On the formal level, these wishes always use an indicative verb in the present tense, and they seem to occur obligatorily with particles like Dutch *maar* as in (14), and German *bloss* as in (10) or *nur* as in (15).

2.1.2 Potential long-range wishes

A second type of wish was illustrated in (8) and (11) above, where the speaker expresses their wish that someone may stay healthy for a long time, or stay on as a conductor. Two further examples are given in (16) and (17):

GERMAN (IC)

- (16) *Danke für die gute Zusammenarbeit,*
 ‘Thank you for the nice collaboration,
auf dass sie noch lange anhält.
 COMP DEM PRT long continue.PRS.IND
 [I hope] **that it continues for a long time.**
 (<http://www.swarte-evert.de/gaestebuch/>, 10/09/2015)

ENGLISH (IC)

- (17) *And I heard a voice from heaven saying, “Write this: Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from now on.” “Blessed indeed,” says the Spirit, “**that they may rest from their labors, for their deeds follow them!**”*
 (<http://biblehub.com/revelation/14-13.htm>, 15/07/2014)

With constructions like these, the speaker expresses their wish that a particular SoA, like the good collaboration in (16), or the rest of deceased people in (17) will continue for an indefinite period of time into the distant future. Wishes like these have not received very much attention in the literature, and have only been discussed to some extent for Dutch (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 130) and German (Weuster 1983: 50; Maekelberghe 2011: 22). Weuster (1983) uses the label ‘wish’, but in our own work we have used the more specific label ‘long-range wishes’. I will retain this label here, adding the specification ‘potential’. This type of wishes does not seem to be possible in Swedish, Danish and Icelandic, as I have not found any examples of this type in my corpus material, nor in the literature on these languages.

As was the case for the potential short-range wishes discussed above, in long-range wishes the speaker evaluates the potential realization of their wish as possible, i.e. they do not signal any reservations as to whether they think their wish will be realized or not. This type of wish obligatorily has a verb in the present

tense. In addition, Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden (2012: 130; see also Verstraete & D’Hertefelt forthcoming) have shown that in English and Dutch the ‘uncontrolled’ feature of these structures is formally reflected in the near-obligatory use of modal verbs expressing potentiality, like *may* in (17), Dutch *kunnen* ‘can, be able to’ in (8), or Dutch *mogen* ‘may’ in (11) above or (18) below:

DUTCH (IC)

- (18) *Wauw wat een geweldige platen draai je toch Niek!*

‘Wow what great records you play Niek!’

Dat je nog maar veel mag draaien de komende jaren!!

COMP youPRT PRT much may.PRS play.INF the coming years

[I hope] ***That you may play many more [records] the years to come!!***

(<http://partyflock.nl/artist/10088:Frantic-Freak>, 24/09/2015)

Furthermore, Dutch constructions typically (though not obligatorily) use particles like *nog* ‘still’ in (8) and (18), or *maar* in (18). The German structures do not have typical verbs or particles, but they can use both an indicative and subjunctive verb form, and they are typically preceded by the complex subordinator *auf dass* instead of ‘simple’ *dass*, as in (16) above (Maekelberghe 2011: 22).

Although Dutch structures like (8), (11) and (18) seem to be used quite productively, the German and English examples are quite archaic and do not occur very frequently in my data.

2.1.3 Irrealis wishes

In this section I investigate wishes like (12) above, repeated here as (19), and (20):

ENGLISH (IC)

- (19) [comment on a picture of an antenna]

Greetings fellow hams. No, the antenna shown above is not mine, I only WISH it were! [...]

Oh, that I only had room in my backyard.

(<http://www.wcrtc.net/~flaughter/N9AAT.htm>, 01/10/2014)

GERMAN (Rosengren 1992: 35)

- (20) *Dass ich mir auch mal so etwas leisten könnte.*

COMP I REFL also PRT like.that something afford.INF can.PST.SBJV

‘[I wish] that I could only afford something like that as well.’

In (19) the speaker expresses their wish to have room for an antenna in their backyard, and in (20) the speaker wishes to be able to afford something. Examples like these have been discussed extensively for German (Weuster 1983: 50; Altmann 1987: 41; Oppenrieder 1989: 199, 223; Thurmair 1989: 55;

Maekelberghe 2011: 20; Verstraete & D’Hertefelt forthcoming), and to a lesser extent also for English (Verstraete & D’Hertefelt forthcoming). In both languages these structures are archaic (Oppenrieder 1989: 201; Verstraete & D’Hertefelt forthcoming). I have not found similar constructions in my data from present-day Swedish and Danish, but Lehti-Eklund (2001: 86) and Hansen & Heltoft (2011: 769) have noted that such wishes were possible in earlier stages of these languages. This is illustrated in the following examples, both from the mid-nineteenth century:

SWEDISH (Rydberg Ath. 103; cited in Lehti-Eklund 2001: 86)

- (21) *O att jag finge återse henne!*
 INTERJ COMP I may.PST see.again.INF her
 ‘Oh, that I could only see her again!’

DANISH (Kierkegaard, *Samlede Værker VI*; cited in Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 769)

- (22) *Ak! at hun dog ikke maatte døe,*
 INTERJ COMP she PRT NEG may.PST die.INF
ak at hun dog ikke maatte visne hen!
 INTERJ COMP she PRT NEG may.PST wither.INF away
 ‘Alas! That she may not die, that she may not wither away!’

These constructions are not attested in my Dutch and Icelandic data, and they are not discussed in the literature on these languages.¹²

Although most authors do not systematically distinguish this type from the other types of wishes, many of them point out that constructions like (19) to (22) have a ‘sense of irreality’ (e.g. Weuster 1983: 50; Altmann 1987: 35; Oppenrieder 1989: 201; Truckenbrodt 2013: 240). More specifically, these constructions refer to a desirable SoA which is not yet realized at the moment of speaking, and whose potential realization the speaker evaluates as improbable. For instance, in (19) the speaker wishes for room for an antenna in the backyard, but the construction at the same time indicates that the speaker does not yet have room at the moment of speaking, and does not think it very likely that this will be the case in the future. Following Verstraete & D’Hertefelt (forthcoming), I label wishes like these ‘irrealis wishes’.

Irrealis wishes obligatorily use a past tense form (often, though not obligatorily, in combination with a modal verb; in German, a past subjunctive is used). When a modal verb is used, this is typically a modal of potentiality, like

¹² Since I have only done synchronic corpus research for this study, it cannot be ruled out that irrealis wishes did occur in earlier stages of Dutch and Icelandic and then became obsolete, as is the case for Swedish and Danish. Diachronic research is needed to see in which languages these wishes were used and during what periods.

German *können* ‘can, be able to’ in (20), Swedish *få* ‘may’ in (21), or Danish *må* ‘may’ in (22). German examples obligatory use particles like *nur*, *bloß*, *doch* or *mal* as in (20) (Altmann 1987: 41; Oppenrieder 1989: 200; Maekelberghe 2011: 20; Verstraete & D’Hertefelt forthcoming). English examples often use particles like *only* in (19), or archaic *but*, as in the following example:

ENGLISH (Grosz 2012: 9)

- (23) ***Oh that Apollo would but drive his horses slowly, that the day might be three hours longer; for it is too soon to depart, and that for fear of a pocky setting of the Watch.***

(A. Marsh. 1682. *The Ten Pleasures of Marriage*. London: The Navarre Society.)

However, these particles do not seem to be obligatory in English, as is illustrated in the following example (which uses the subjunctive form):

ENGLISH (Grosz 2012: 9)

- (24) ***“Oh! what a charming creature thou art! What a happy man will he be that first makes a woman of you! Oh! that I were a man for your sake!”***

(John Cleland. 1749. *Memoirs of Fanny Hill*. Paris: Isidore Liseux.)

2.1.4 Counterfactual wishes

Counterfactual wishes are constructions like (13) above, repeated here as (25), and (26):

GERMAN (Grosz 2012: 7)

- (25) *Ach, dass ihre Schiffe unsere Ufer doch nur nie erreicht*
INTERJ COMP their ships our shores PRT PRT NEG reach.PPART
hätten!

have.PST.SBJV

‘Oh, if only their ships hadn’t reached our shores!’ [lit.: That their ships hadn’t ...]

ENGLISH (IC)

- (26) *‘Tis done! he reel’d, he fell without a groan;
There, where he fell, he lies—Go, get thee hence,
Thou bleeding witness of a fearful deed!*

[Throws the dagger away.

***Oh, that I only could have kill’d his crimes,
And spar’d him life to make his peace with heaven!***

(The posthumous dramatic works of the late Richard Cumberland. London 1813, accessed via Google Books, 26/02/2015)

In (25) the speaker expresses their wish that a fleet of ships had not reached their shores, and in (26) the speaker wishes that she had been able to ‘kill’ someone’s crimes. Constructions like these always refer to a potential SoA that is located in the past, which the speaker evaluates as (then) desirable but unrealized. Thus, the speaker wishes for something to have happened, but at the same time indicates that they know this did not happen, as the ships have already arrived in (25), and the speaker has not killed the other person’s crimes in (26). To my knowledge, constructions like these have only been discussed for German by Grosz (2012: 7), where they have received the label ‘counterfactual wish’. I use the same label here.

I have only found examples of counterfactual wishes for German and English, and not for the four other languages. The counterfactual reading of the English and German examples seems to be due to the fact that these constructions obligatorily use a combination of what looks like a past perfect tense, either with a modal verb, like English *can* in (26), or with subjunctive mood, as in the German example (25) (see Van linden & Verstraete 2008 on this way of marking counterfactuality). Apart from this verbal marking, counterfactual wishes usually seem to occur with particles like German *doch* and *nur* in (25), and English *only* as in (26). The English particle does not seem to be obligatory, however, as is illustrated in the following example:

ENGLISH (Grosz 2012: 9)

(27) ***Oh, that I had told them both a year ago!***

(Martin F. Tupper. 1851. *The Twins; A Domestic Novel*. Hartford: Silas Andrus.)

At the end of this section, I briefly want to address an issue related to the use of the label ‘counterfactual’. Some authors (e.g. Maekelberghe 2011: 22) have also used this label for what I have called irrealis wishes, i.e. constructions like (20) above, repeated here as (28):

GERMAN (Rosengren 1992: 35)

(28) *Dass ich mir auch mal so etwas leisten könnte.*

COMP I REFL also PRT like.that something afford.INF can.PST.SBJV

‘[I wish] that I could only afford something like that as well.’

What distinguishes constructions like these from the counterfactual wishes discussed here is that irrealis wishes refer to SoAs which can possibly still become true, while counterfactual wishes refer to past SoAs which the speaker knows can no longer be realized. For instance, while in (28) it is not impossible that the speaker might still win the lottery so that they can afford something after all, in (25) the speaker cannot alter the fact that the ships have already arrived.

2.1.5 Summary

In the previous sections I have discussed four types of wishes that can be distinguished for independent complement clauses, i.e. potential short-range, potential long-range, irrealis and counterfactual wishes. These types can be distinguished on the basis of two semantic parameters, which differ in scope. The main parameter concerns the speaker's assessment of the likelihood of the realization of the desirable SoA, and distinguishes between three subtypes depending on whether the realization is evaluated as possible (in the case of potential wishes), improbable (in the case of irrealis wishes), or impossible (in the case of counterfactual wishes). The second parameter is only relevant to the potential subtype, and makes a further distinction on the basis of whether the realization of the desirable SoA is located in the near or distant future (short-range vs. long-range wishes). I showed that there are noticeable differences in the availability of the four types of wishes across the languages studied here, as all types occur in German, only some types occur in Dutch, English, Danish and Swedish, and none of these types is attested in Icelandic. Table 2 summarizes the main findings for the uncontrolled deontic complement clauses.

2.2 Controlled deontic constructions

In this section I discuss constructions like in (9) above, where the speaker orders the addressee to finish their essays in time, and like in (29) and (30):

DUTCH (IC)

- (29) *Hellehond koest, lig, in uw kot en*
 'Hellhound [nickname] quiet, down, into your kennel and
dat ik u niet meer hoor.
 COMP I you NEG anymore hear.PRS
don't let me hear you again! [lit.: that I don't hear you again!]
En durf uwen poot niet opheffen hé of ik gebruik die schijven als
castratiemessen. 8)
 And don't you dare raise your paw again or I'll use those discs as
 castration knives. [smiley]
 (<http://forum.mountainbike.be/viewtopic.php?t=54453>, 18/09/2014)

DUTCH (CGN)

- (30) A: *uh xxx van diene bamboe die vroee dat hij vroeger zou willen leveren in*
plaats van uh later
 'eh xxx about that bamboo he asked if he could deliver it earlier
 instead of eh later
 [...]

Semantic types	Formal marking						
	Type of marking	Dutch	German	English	Danish	Swedish	Icelandic
Potential short-range wishes: potential realization evaluated as possible, projected in present or immediate future	Particles	<i>maar</i>	<i>nur, bloss</i>				
	Verbs	Present tense (indicative)					
Potential long-range wishes: potential realization evaluated as possible, projected in indefinite future	Particles	<i>maar, nog</i>	/	/			
	Verbs	Present tense					
		Modals of potentiality <i>mogen</i> ‘may’, <i>kunnen</i> ‘can’	Indicative / Subjunctive	Modals of potentiality <i>may, can</i>			
	Other	/	Complementizer <i>auf dass</i>	/			
Irrealis wishes: potential realization evaluated as improbable	Particles		<i>nur, bloss, doch, mal</i>	<i>(only, but)</i>	†	†	
	Verbs		Past tense				
			Subjunctive (Modals of potentiality)	Modals of potentiality			
Counterfactual wishes: potential realization evaluated as impossible	Particles		<i>nur, doch</i>	<i>(only)</i>			
	Verbs		Past perfect tense				
			Subjunctive	Modals of potentiality			

Table 2: Constructional properties of uncontrolled deontic complement constructions.

- B: *ah ja dat hij dat maar doet*
 COMP he DEM PRT do.PRS
 ah yes **he can do that** [lit.: that he does that]
 A: *'k ga 'm deze middag 'ns ne keer bellen*
 I'll call him this afternoon'

In (29), the speaker uses a complement clause to forbid the addressee to speak again. The complement clause in (30) is used to grant someone permission to make an early delivery of plants. These constructions both refer to a potential SoA that is evaluated in terms of desirability, but unlike with the uncontrolled constructions discussed above, the potential realization of this SoA (e.g. staying quiet, or making an early delivery) is presented as being controlled by the addressee. Furthermore, since the complement clause serves to inform the addressee that the speaker expects them to realize this SoA, the speaker's utterance also influences the potential realization. As I explained above, I will use the label 'controlled deontic' for all such independent complement clauses.

Controlled deontic constructions are only found in German and Dutch. Within this category, a further distinction can be made depending on how committed the speaker is to the realization of the potential SoA, and whether the speaker and addressee's attitudes towards this realization are opposed or aligned (Verstraete 2005b). Following Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden (2012: 133) I will use these parameters to distinguish between 'strong' and 'weak' controlled constructions. In strong constructions like the order in (9) and the prohibition in (29), the speaker is strongly committed to the potential realization of the SoA, and the speaker's and addressee's attitudes are presented as being opposed. In weak constructions like the permission structure in (30), the speaker is only weakly committed to the potential realization, and the speaker's and addressee's attitudes are assumed to be aligned. In the next two sections, I will discuss both types of controlled constructions in more detail.

2.2.1 Strong controlled deontic constructions

In this section I discuss constructions with which the speaker either orders, as in (31) and (32), or forbids, as in (33) and (34), the addressee to do something:

- DUTCH (IC)
- (31) [conversation on a car forum about the tuning of a particular car]
 A: *als alles een beetje meezit kan ik vrijdag of zaterdag al enkele delen in de spuitpamuur [sic] zetten (samen met de zijschort)*
 'if everything goes well I can paint some parts [of the car] on Friday or Saturday (together with the side molding)
 B: *Proper en een paar zeer leuke ideeën [sic] dat erin verwerkt zitten !!*
 neat and a couple of very nice ideas in it!!

Da ge maar ziet da da snel gespoten is !!!
 COMP you PRT make.sure.PRS COMP DEM soon paint.PPART be.PRS
Just make sure it gets painted soon!!! [lit.: That you make sure it gets
 painted soon!!!]
K blijf het volgen :)
 I'll keep following this [smiley]
 (<http://board.carstyling.net/printthread.php?t=37266&page=6&pp=40>,
 18/09/2014)

GERMAN (Panther & Thornburg 2011: 99)

- (32) *Dass Sie bitte ja das Fenster schließen, bevor Sie*
 COMP you please PRT the window close.PRS.IND before you
gehen!
 go.PRS.IND
 'Please, close the window (at all costs) before you leave!' [lit.: That you
 please close...]

DUTCH (IC)

- (33) *Hellehond koest, lig, in uw kot en*
 'Hellhound [nickname] quiet, down, into your kennel and
dat ik u niet meer hoor.
 COMP I you NEG anymore hear.PRS
don't let me hear you again! [lit.: that I don't hear you again!]
 (<http://forum.mountainbike.be/viewtopic.php?t=54453>, 18/09/2014)

GERMAN (Maekelberghe 2011: 15)

- (34) *„Sie kommen zu spät!“ rief der Vorsänger der Gruppe ihr tadelnd zu.*
 "You're late!", the group's precentor reprimanded them.
„Daß mir das nicht wieder vorkommt.“
 COMP me.DAT DEM NEG again happen.PRS.IND
"Don't let this happen again." [lit.: That this doesn't happen again.]

In (31) and (32) the speaker orders the addressee to paint their car or close the window; in (33) and (34) the speaker forbids the addressee to speak or to be late again. Constructions like these are only found in German and Dutch. They have received different labels in the literature, like 'imperative sentences' (De Rooy 1965: 118; Altmann 1987: 35; Oppenrieder 1989: 194; Truckenbrodt 2013: 237), 'directives' (Truckenbrodt 2006: 269; Schwabe 2007; D'Hertefelt forthcoming), 'strong requests or admonishments' (Panther & Thornburg 2011: 99), 'orders' or 'commands' (Buscha 1976: 278; Weuster 1983: 33; Thurmair 1989: 54; Truckenbrodt 2006: 269), or 'positive' and 'negative' orders (Maekelberghe 2011: 21). Following our previous work on Dutch (Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 132), I use the general label 'strong controlled deontic' for constructions with which the speaker either orders or forbids the addressee to do something.

For ease of reference, however, I adopt the labels ‘order’ and ‘prohibition’ to refer to specific instances of such constructions.

As was mentioned above, in strong controlled deontic constructions the speaker and addressee are presented as having opposing attitudes (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 133; Verstraete & D’Hertefelt forthcoming). For instance, with constructions like (31) or (32) the speaker orders the addressee to realize a particular action which they think the latter might not undertake spontaneously, like painting their car soon or closing the windows. In prohibitions like (33) or (34), the speaker forbids the addressee to do something they think the addressee will probably do, like talking or being late again. In all of these constructions, the speaker is strongly committed to the fulfillment of their order or prohibition, in the sense that they really want this action (not) to be carried out.

In German, orders and prohibitions like (32) and (34) are quite productive. Formally, these structures are nearly identical, the only difference being that prohibitions contain explicit negators while orders do not. In this sense, they are not two different types but rather the positive and negative variant of one strong controlled deontic type. They typically occur with the ethical dative *mir*, as in (34), and particles like *bloss*, *aber* or *ja*, as in (32) (Altmann 1987: 41; Oppenrieder 1989: 196; Thurmair 1989: 54; Maekelberghe 2011: 11; Panther & Thornburg 2011: 99, 104). When the particle *ja* is used in an independent complement clause, it can coerce a controlled reading upon the construction, even when it refers to an action that is normally considered ‘uncontrollable’. This is illustrated in the following examples from Oppenrieder (1989: 199), who argues that the use of *ja* turns the construction in (36) into an order rather than a wish as in (35), even if the predicate ‘catching a cold’ refers to an action which the addressee does normally not control:

GERMAN (Oppenrieder 1989: 199)

- (35) *Dass du dich nur nicht erkältest!*
 COMP you REFL PRT NEG catch.cold.PRS.IND
 ‘[I hope] That you don’t catch a cold!’

GERMAN (Oppenrieder 1989: 199)

- (36) *Dass du dich JA nicht erkältest!*
 COMP you REFL PRT NEG catch.cold.PRS.IND
 ‘[Make sure you] don’t catch a cold!’ [lit.: That you don’t catch a cold!]

Dutch orders and prohibitions seem to be less productive than their German counterparts. Dutch orders are quite formulaic and almost exclusively use the complement-taking predicate *zien dat* ‘make sure that’, as in (31) above, or an epistemic predicate like *weten* ‘know’, as will be shown below. Dutch prohibitions are less formulaic than orders. Both orders and prohibitions frequently use the

particle *maar* (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 134), as in (31), but this is not obligatory, as is illustrated in (33).

In addition to these language- and construction-specific markers, German and Dutch orders and prohibitions also share a number of formal features. First, all constructions obligatorily use a verb in the present tense. Second, they usually seem to take second person subjects, but they can sometimes also occur with third person subjects, as illustrated in the following example (Oppenrieder 1989: 195; Panther & Thornburg 2011: 102):

GERMAN (Günthner 2013: 236)

- (37) A: *hallo!*
 ‘hello!
 B: *hallo!*
 hello!
 A: *ist herr MAlerich bei ihnen?*
 is Mr Maierich with you?
 B: *nein, der REdet gerade mit unserer CHEfin.*
 no, he’s talking to our chef.
 A: ***dass er mal eben bei mir vorBElkommt.***
 COMP he PRT PRT by me come.by.PRS.IND
 [tell him] **that he comes see me.**
 B: *SAG ich ihm.*
 I’ll tel him.
 A: *danke.*
 thanks
 B: *tschüss.*
 bye
 A: *tschüss.*
 bye’

Sometimes German or Dutch orders or prohibitions use an epistemic complement-taking verb. This results in structures like (38), where the speaker orders the addressee to know something, or (39), where the speaker forbids the addressee to think something:

DUTCH (IC)

- (38) *SerieuS, wat voor een persoon zijt ge wel niet?*
 ‘Seriously, what kind of person are you?
 echt serieus, bedankt.
 Really seriously, thanks.

Dat ge maar weet dat ik nu serieus zin heb om
 COMP you PRT know.PRS COMP I now seriously feel.like.PRS to
op uwe [sic] bakkes te slaan.
 on your face INFM punch.INF
You should know that I seriously feel like punching you in the face right
now. [lit.: That you just know that ...]
ik begrijp niet hoe goed gelovig ik wel kon zijn.
 I can't believe how naïve I've been.'
 (<http://www.fanfic.nl/forum/topic.php?tid=1621&page=19>, 11/09/2014)

GERMAN (IC)

- (39) *Wie jeden Tag, wenn Anna aus der Schule kam, wurde sie von der neuen Frau ihres Vaters angegiftet.*
 'As always, when Anna got home from school her father's new wife snapped at her.
„Dass du ja nicht denkst, du kannst heute wieder
 COMP you PRT NEG think.PRS.IND you can.PRS.IND today again
faulenzten und dich mit Hausaufgaben für die Schule
 idle.INF and REFL with homework for the school
herausreden.
 make.excuses.INF
“You shouldn't think that you can laze about again and make excuses
because of your schoolwork. [lit.: That you don't think, you can ...]
Du hast heute Nachmittag anderes zu tun.“
 You've got other things to do this afternoon.”
 (<http://www.platinnetz.de/magazin/freizeit/schreibwettbewerb-herzklopfen/ein-tag-aus-anna-s-kinderleben>, 22/09/2014)

These structures offer a nice example of how the (encoded) semantics of a particular construction can differ from its pragmatics. While semantically these constructions express an order or a prohibition, pragmatically they are not used to tell the addressee what (not) to do. Rather, they serve to assert or deny the content of the second embedded complement clause: in (38) the order is used to emphatically signal to the addressee that the speaker really feels like punching them in the face, and in (39) the prohibition is used to deny the possibility of lazing away the day.¹³

¹³ In Swedish and Danish, we also find apparently independent complement clauses with similar epistemic predicates, as in the following examples:

SWEDISH (IC)

- (1) *ta hjälp av någon irl. och tänk på hur du är när du tränar.*
 'Get help from someone in real life and think about how you are when you work out.

2.2.2 Weak controlled deontic constructions

Weak controlled deontic constructions are structures in which the speaker evaluates a particular SoA as desirable, signals that its potential realization is controlled by the addressee, but is only weakly committed to this realization. Such constructions can express permission, as in (30) above, repeated here as (40), or advice, as in (41):

- DUTCH (CGN)
- (40) A: *uh xxx van diene bamboe die vroe dat hij vroeger zou willen leveren in plaats van uh later*
 ‘eh xxx about that bamboo he asked if he could deliver it earlier instead of eh later
 [...]
 B: *ah ja **dat** hij **dat** maar doet*
 COMP he DEM PRT do.PRS
 ah yes **he can do that** [lit.: that he does that]
 A: *‘k ga ‘m deze middag ‘ns ne keer bellen*
 I’ll call him this afternoon’

att du inte tänker att det är hopplöst eller är frustrerad.
 COMP YOU NEG think.PRS COMP it be.PRS hopeless or be.PRS
 frustrated
That you don’t think that it’s hopeless or are frustrated.
 (<http://www.aktivhund.se/hundforum/viewtopic.php?f=7&t=20258>, 01/09/2014)

- DANISH (IC)
- (2) *Men du er u-rimelig,*
 ‘But you’re unfair,
at du bare ved det.
 COMP YOU PRT know.PRS that
you should know that.’ [lit.: that you only know that.]
 (<http://www.oleolesen.dk/hedninger.htm>, 1/12/2011)

However, according to native speakers I consulted, the complementizer *at(t)* in these structures serves as an ellipsed form of the purposive complementizer *så at(t)* ‘so that’. Still, if we search for Danish *at du bare ved det* ‘that you only know’ in corpora, this yields a couple of results, whereas the purposive variant *så at du bare ved det* ‘so that you only know’ yields none. Further research on independent structures introduced by *så at(t)* is needed to check these intuitions, and to see if such structures should be included in the category of strong controlled constructions or not.

DUTCH (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 137)

(41) A: *Jan heeft zijn portefeuille verloren.*

‘Jan has lost his wallet.

B: *Dat hij misschien eens in zijn achterzak kijkt.*

COMP he maybe PRT in his back.pocket look.PRS

He could try and check his back pocket.’ [lit.: That he maybe ...]

In (40), the complement clause expresses permission: the salesman asks if they can make an early delivery, which the speaker allows. In (41), the complement clause expresses advice to a third person: they should perhaps check their back pocket to look for their lost wallet. Structures like these have been discussed in our previous work for Dutch (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 135; D’Hertefelt forthcoming; Verstraete & D’Hertefelt forthcoming), and do not seem to occur in any of the other languages under investigation. I call them weak controlled constructions, because (i) the speaker is not personally committed to the realization of the action, and (ii) the speaker’s and addressee’s attitudes are assumed to be aligned, as the speaker agrees with what the addressee wants (permission), or suggests something which they think the addressee might find desirable (advice).

Weak controlled constructions are always affirmative. Furthermore, we showed in our earlier work (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 135; D’Hertefelt forthcoming; Verstraete & D’Hertefelt forthcoming) that they occur with a set of typical particles. Permission structures typically use the particle *maar*, as in (40), or the particles *eens* ‘once’ or *gerust* ‘with one’s mind at ease’, as in the following example:

DUTCH (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 135)

(42) *Dat ie maar gerust zo verder doet.*

COMP he PRT PRT like.this further do.PRS

‘He can just continue what he is doing right now.’ [li.: That he just continues...]

Advice constructions often contain particles like *eens* ‘once’, possibly in combination with *misschien* ‘maybe’, as in (41) above.

In addition to these particles, permission and advice constructions typically use verbs in the present tense. Furthermore, they only seem to be found with third person addressees. The speaker may in some cases expect their interlocutor to pass on this permission or advice, i.e. to mediate between the speaker and the intended third person addressee. When a speaker wishes to express permission or advice to their interlocutor in direct interaction, they cannot use a complement construction, as is illustrated in the following examples:

DUTCH (C)

- (43) A: *Mag ik ook later op de dag de bamboe leveren?*
 'Can I also deliver the bamboo later on the day?

B: *Ja hoor*

Yes, sure

- a. *doe maar.*
 do.IMP PRT
 do that.
- b. *dat mag je zeker.*
 DEM may.PRS you certainly
 you certainly may.
- c. **dat je dat maar doet.*
 COMP you DEM PRT do.PRS
 *that you do so.'

DUTCH (C)

- (44) A: *Ik ben mijn portefeuille verloren.*
 'I have lost my wallet.

B: a. *Kijk misschien eens in je achterzak.*

look.IMP maybe PRT in your back.pocket

Maybe check your back pocket.

- b. *Je kan misschien eens in je achterzak kijken.*
 you can.PRS maybe PRT in your back.pocket look.INF
 You could maybe check your back pocket.

- c. **Dat je misschien eens in je achterzak kijkt.*
 COMP you maybe PRT in your back.pocket look.PRS
 *That you maybe check your back pocket.'

To round off this section, I briefly want to discuss one type of weak controlled construction in Dutch that shows a discrepancy between the meaning of the construction and its use, i.e. between semantics and pragmatics. As shown above, weak controlled constructions expressing permission often use the particles *maar* or *eens*. When these particles are used together, this gives the permission construction an additional 'inviting' dimension, as in the following example:

DUTCH (C)

- (45) A: *Jan heeft hier nog wat tijdschriften liggen die je mogelijk interesseren.*
 'Jan has some magazines which might interest you.

B: Ah, *dat hij ze maar eens meepakt dan.*

INTERJ COMP he them PRT PRT bring.along.PRS then

Well, **he can bring them along some time.**' [lit.: That he brings them.]

This ‘inviting’ dimension is due to the particle *eens*, which functions as an open event quantifier and lends the construction a suggestive semantics (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 138). However, in some contexts complement constructions with the combination *maar + eens* can come to serve as a challenge to the interlocutor. While semantically such constructions express an invitation to the addressee to undertake a particular action, pragmatically they signal that the speaker does *not* want this to happen. This is illustrated in the following example:

DUTCH (IC; partly cited in Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 132)

- (46) *Hij zei: “Ik zorg wel voor je. Ik help je wel. Het enige waar hij gaat voor zorgen is dat ik hier (buiten)gewipt wordt.”*

‘He said: “I’ll take care of you. I’ll help you out. The only thing he will take care of is getting me fired.”

“Dat hij maar eens probeert je te wippen,

COMP he PRT PRT try.PRS you INFM fire.INF

“He shouldn’t try to get you fired, [lit.: That he just tries to fire you]

ik sla ‘m op zijn gezicht.”

[or] I’ll punch him in the face.”

(http://www.proz.com/kudoz/english_to_dutch/cinema_film_tv_drama/85404-is_my_pink_slip.html, 01/09/2014)

In this example the speaker seemingly invites the addressee to try and fire a particular person, but what the structure actually communicates is that the speaker does *not* want this to happen. This interpretation is strengthened by the clause which follows, which specifies an undesirable consequence. In some contexts, similar constructions can also be used to urge the addressee to undertake an action which the speaker thinks they will not be able to carry out, as in the following example:

DUTCH (IC)

- (47) *Nu had ik deze nacht nog maar eens tegen mijn vriend gezegd dat hij toch echt meer moet gaan helpen ... en die is echt begin schreeuwen dat ik geen respect [sic] heb voor hem en dat hij al gaat werken, dus het minste wat ik kan doen is voor die kleine zorgen en ‘s nachts opstaan. Want door de dag doe ik al niet veel in het huishouden, vind [sic] hij*

‘Last night I told my boyfriend once again that he really had to start helping out more ... and he really started yelling that I don’t have any respect for him and that he goes out to work, so the least I can do is take care of the baby and get up at night. Because during the day I don’t do much in the house, he thinks ...

amaai dat hij maar eens probeert door te werken als n

INTERJ COMP he PRT PRT try.PRS on INFM work.INF COND a

kleine uw aandacht wilt.
 little.one your attention want.PRS
well, he should try to get some work done if a baby wants your attention' [lit.: That he just tries to get ...].
 (<http://9maand.be/forum/babys-en-slapen/beetje-radeloos.68901>, 01/10/2014)

In this example, the speaker urges the addressee to try to get some work done while taking care of a baby, but the constructions signals that they think this is not possible.

In Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden (2012: 138) we use the label 'challenge' for such constructions, and argue that they typically display some form of polarity reversal, since the polarity as formally marked is the opposite from the polarity intended by the speaker. This polarity reversal is due to a 'clash' between the semantics of the particle *maar*, which in directive constructions signals a potential obstacle for the action to be realized, with the semantics of the particle *eens*, which in deontic constructions is used to signal an open suggestion (Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 138; Verstraete & D'Hertefelt 2014: 646). This is illustrated by the fact that, when *eens* is deleted, challenge constructions come to function as 'straightforward' orders and lose their challenging interpretation, as in the following example:

- DUTCH (C)
- (48) *Dat hij maar probeert te werken!*
 COMP he PRT try.PRS INFM work.INF
 'He should try to work!' [lit.: That he tries to work!]

In addition to these typical particles, challenge constructions frequently occur with action-initiating verbs like *proberen* 'try' in (46) and (47), but they are not obligatory, as illustrated in the following example:

- DUTCH (IC)
- (49) [critical comment on a blogpost in which someone argues that people should rely on real data and statistics when talking about topics like 'immigrants in the Netherlands']
Koen, alsof je alles kan bewijzen met cijfers.
 'Koen [author of the original blogpost], [it's not] as if you can prove everything with statistics.
 [...]
Van jou heb ik nu een trukje geleerd: als mijn baas nog eens afkomt dat ik slecht gezind ben:
 At least you taught me a trick: if my boss once again comes to tell me I'm in a bad mood:

dat hij dat maar eens bewijst met cijfers :-)

COMP he DEM PRT PRT prove.PRS with data

he should prove it with actual data [smiley]' [lit.: that he proves it with actual data]

(<http://speelsmaarserieus.blogspot.be/2009/07/nieuwe-gegevens-voor-eurabie.html>, 16/02/2014)

2.2.3 Summary

In the previous sections I discussed two sets of controlled deontic constructions, i.e. constructions that signal that the speaker is strongly committed to the addressee's (non-)realization of a particular SoA, and constructions referring to actions which the speaker is only weakly committed to. Within the latter category, further semantic and formal criteria were used to distinguish between permission, advice and challenge constructions. Controlled deontic constructions only occur in my Dutch and German data, and do not seem to be available in the other four languages. Table 3 summarizes the main findings for these structures.

3 Evaluative constructions

A second type of independent complement clauses are constructions that evaluate an actual SoA in terms of expectedness. Examples of this category were given in (2) and (5), repeated here as (50) and (51):

ICELANDIC (Petersson 2011: 206)

(50) *Að María skuli vera hér!*

COMP NAME shall.PRS.SBJV be.INF here

'[I'm amazed] That Maria should be here!'

SWEDISH (IC)

(51) *Du-påstående lägger allt ansvar på den andre. Ofta förstärkt med generaliseringar, typ;*

'You-claims pass all the responsibility to the other person. Often strengthened by generalizations, like;

– **Att du aldrig kan passa tider!**

COMP you never can.PRS watch.INF times

– **Why can't you ever watch the time!** [lit.: That you can never watch the time!]

– *Du är ju helt hopplös! – Varför tänker du bara på dig själv!?*

– You are really hopeless! – Why do you only think of yourself!?'

(http://issuu.com/danielheiniemi/docs/o4u05_tr/19, 24/09/2014)

Semantic types		Formal marking						
		Type of marking	Dutch	German	English	Danish	Swedish	Icelandic
Strong controlled constructions (order/prohibition): speaker is strongly committed to realization of SoA		Particles	<i>(maar)</i>	<i>bloss, ja, mir</i>				
		Verbs	<i>zien dat</i> (for orders)	/				
Weak controlled constructions: speaker is weakly committed to realization of SoA	Permission	Particles	<i>vooral, gerust</i>					
	Advice	Particles	<i>eens, misschien</i>					
	Challenge	Particles	<i>maar + eens</i>					
		Verbs	<i>(proberen 'try')</i>					
Formal marking common for all types of controlled directives			Verbs in present tense					

Table 3: Constructional properties of controlled deontic complement constructions.

In (50), the speaker expresses their surprise that Maria is present. The structure in (51) expresses the speaker's annoyance at the fact that someone is always late. Constructions like these have been discussed in the literature under labels like 'exclamative' (Andersson 1982: 72, Rosengren 1992: 298, Delsing 2010: 32, Petersson 2011 for Swedish; Altmann 1987: 39, Oppenrieder 1989: 168, Thurmair 1989: 55, Rosengren 1992: 278, Truckenbrodt 2006: 277, Schwabe 2007, d'Avis 2013: 177, Truckenbrodt 2013: 238 for German; Delsing 2010: 32 for Danish; De Rooy 1965: 135 for Dutch), 'expressive' (Andersson 2003: 862 for Swedish; Panther & Thornburg 2011: 90 for German and English; D'Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014: 91 for Swedish and Danish), or 'emotive' (Christensen 2009: 123; Christensen 2010: 133; Christensen & Heltoft 2010: 94 for Danish). However, since these labels are also often used for some of the constructions discussed in the previous section, like specific types of wishes, they are too general to adopt as the label for the category discussed here. Following our earlier work (Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 139), I opt for the general label 'evaluative', because this best captures the semantics of constructions like (50) and (51) and distinguishes this category from the three other categories. Within the evaluative category, two subtypes can be distinguished on the basis of the parameter of expectedness. While unexpected evaluatives like (50) are used to evaluate a particular SoA as unexpected (in a positive or negative way), expected evaluatives like (51) evaluate an SoA as expected and invariably negative. These two types have not been distinguished in the literature so far, but as we argued in previous work (Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 140; D'Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014: 91; Verstraete & D'Hertefelt forthcoming), and as will be shown below, they are distinct both in terms of semantics and in terms of form.

3.1 Unexpected evaluatives

An example of an unexpected evaluative is given in (50) above; some further examples are (52) and (53):

DANISH (IC)

(52) [reaction to an article]

At du overhovedet gider så meget som at gå
 COMP you at.all bother.PRS so much as INFM go.INF
i gang med at læse et indlæg som det med
 in.swing with INFM read.INF a contribute like DEM with
Adrian Hughes.

NAME

'[I can't understand] That you even bother so much as to start reading a contribution like that one with Adrian Hughes.'

(http://www.poulsaudiobutik.dk/2010/11/blog-post_12.html, 01/12/2011)

DUTCH (IC)

(53) [conversation on a car forum]

A: *Nog een forumtopic met 159 problemen (in het Frans), blijkbaar worden de problemen omvangrijker naarmate meer mensen hun Alfa in ontvangst nemen?*

'Another forum topic with 159 problems (in French), apparently the problems become bigger the more people receive their Alfa?

[...]

Dan te denken dat ik :inlove: was op deze wagen en hem bijna heb gekocht...

And to think that I was :inlove: with this car and almost bought it...

B: *Ja amai, **dat** **zoiets** **nog kan** **in 2006...***

yes INTERJ COMP something.like.that PRT be.possible.PRSin 2006

Yeah wow, [I'm amazed] **that something like that is still possible in 2006...**

(<http://www.autoforum.be/archive/index.php?t-10571-p-3.html>, 11/09/2014)

In (52), the speaker evaluates the fact that someone even bothers to read a specific contribution as unexpected. The same applies to (53), where the speaker expresses their surprise that a particular car continues to have problems. Constructions like these are found in all six languages under investigation, and have been discussed in the literature for Swedish (Andersson 1982: 72; Platzack 1987: 81; Rosengren 1992: 298; Andersson 2003: 862; Delsing 2010: 32; Petersson 2011; D'Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014: 91), German (Buscha 1976: 278; Weuster 1983: 49; Altmann 1987: 39; Oppenrieder 1989: 168, 216; Rosengren 1992: 278; Truckenbrodt 2006: 27; Schwabe 2007; Panther & Thornburg 2011: 92; d'Avis 2013: 177; Truckenbrodt 2013: 238), Danish (Christensen 2009: 123; Christensen 2010: 133; Christensen & Heltoft 2010: 94; Delsing 2010: 32; D'Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014: 91), English (Panther & Thornburg 2011: 91), Icelandic (Sigurðsson 2010: 43; Petersson 2011: 206), and Dutch (Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 139; see also Verstraete & D'Hertefelt forthcoming on this type of constructions in all of these languages except Icelandic). As argued in the introduction to this section, most of these authors use labels like 'expressive' or 'exclamative' for these constructions, but I believe the label 'unexpected evaluative' is more suited to capture their precise semantics.

Constructions like (52) and (53) refer to an actual (or 'presupposed', 'given' or 'factive'¹⁴) SoA that is evaluated as surprising or unexpected. As we have shown in previous work (Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012; Verstraete &

¹⁴ On the fact that evaluative constructions always seem to refer to presupposed SoAs, see Weuster 1983: 49; Rosengren 1992: 278; Delsing 2010: 32; Panther & Thornburg 2011: 91; Petersson 2011: 180; Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 139; d'Avis 2013: 178; Truckenbrodt 2013: 242.

D'Hertefelt forthcoming), this feature of unexpectedness relates to the inherent scalarity of these structures: they evoke a scale of unexpectedness and signal that the evaluated SoA is located high on this scale, with more likely alternatives lying more towards the middle of the scale (see also Zanuttini & Portner 2003: 47). The evaluated SoA is thus considered unexpected because it is implicitly compared to more likely alternatives.¹⁵ The 'polarity' of this evaluation, i.e. whether the unexpected SoA is regarded as something positive or negative, is not formally signaled in these constructions but needs to be derived from the context.¹⁶

In many constructions, the scalar semantics is formally reflected in the use of explicit 'gradual' or 'scalar' markers (Rosengren 1992: 298 and D'Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014: 91 for Swedish and Danish; Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 140 for Dutch; and Altmann 1987: 41, Oppenrieder 1989: 217, Rosengren 1992: 278-279, Maekelberghe 2011: 25 and d'Avis 2013: 177 for German). The examples above, for instance, use scalar expressions like Danish *overhovedet* 'at all' or *så meget som* 'so much as' in (52), or Dutch *zo iets* 'something like that' in (53). Some further examples with explicit scalar marking are given in (54) and (55).

GERMAN (Maekelberghe 2011: 27)

- (54) *Eigentlich unverantwortlich, diese Ausländer frei herumlaufen zu lassen ...*
'Actually it's irresponsible to let these foreigners wander around freely.

Daß das überhaupt angängig sei?

COMP DEM at.all allowed be.PRS.SBJV

[I'm appalled] **that something like that is even allowed?**

ENGLISH (IC)

- (55) *Then we see Ruth walking down the bike path towards us on her brand new knee, cheering and smiling! Oh my God...that she would walk two miles to meet us so soon after having a knee replacement...so much love and support. How lucky am I?*

(<http://www.its-not-about-the-hike.com/adventures/marathon.html>,
24/07/2015)

¹⁵ Some linguists (e.g. Oppenrieder 1989: 218 for German, and Petersson 2011: 206 for Swedish) classify unexpected evaluatives as polar rather than scalar, because these structures signal that something is the case (e.g. *Maria is here*) while the opposite could be expected. However, I think an analysis in terms of scalarity better captures the semantics and the form of these constructions.

¹⁶ The fact that unexpected evaluatives can express both positive or negative evaluation is also reflected in the diverse labels that have sometimes been used for specific examples of this type, which range from negative 'expression of dismay' (Platzack 1987: 81), 'expression of regret' (Buscha 1976: 278) or 'expression of reprimanding' over neutral 'expression of surprise' (Buscha 1976: 278; Weuster 1983: 49), to positive 'expression of admiration' (Weuster 1983: 49).

In the structure in (54), which is marked by the scalar marker *überhaupt* ‘at all’, the speaker evaluates the fact that foreigners can wander around freely as unexpected, implicitly comparing this to a more ‘expected’ scenario in which this would not be allowed. In (55), the complement clause is marked by the scalar particle *so*, and is used to express the speaker’s surprise at the degree of devotion of a particular friend.

However, the scalar semantics of unexpected evaluatives need not always be reflected in the use of explicit scalar markers. An alternative means to evoke unexpectedness scales is via contrastive focus on specific elements of the construction (Zanuttini & Portner 2003: 50). Consider (50) above, repeated here as (56):

- ICELANDIC (Petersson 2011: 206)
- (56) *Að María skuli vera hér!*
 COMP NAME shall.PRS.SBJV be.INF here
 ‘[I’m amazed] That Maria should be here!’

With constructions like these, the precise interpretation depends on which element is focused. For instance, when contrastive focus falls on *María* (*That MARIA should be here!*), the construction expresses the speaker’s surprise that Maria is present as opposed to more likely attendees. However, with a different focus (e.g. *That Maria should be HERE!*) this construction can also be used to express the speaker’s surprise that Maria is here as opposed to more likely places for her to be.

The inherent relation between scalarity and unexpectedness can be demonstrated further by the fact that ambiguous markers can coerce a reading of unexpected evaluation when they receive a scalar interpretation. This is illustrated in the following examples from Swedish:

- SWEDISH (GSLC)
- (57) A: *m / hur e det då med äh mänsklig natur*
 ‘hm / what about human nature
 [...]
 B: *mänsklig natur tycker jag man skulle kunna //*
 human nature I think one could //
 A: **att det finns nånting sånt**
 COMP it exist.PRS something like.that
that something like that exists
 B: *JAA det tycker jag / ja de tycker jag*
 YES I think so / yes I think so’

- SWEDISH (C)
- (58) A: *Man har uppfunnit en maskin som kan läsa människors tankar.*
 ‘They have invented a device that can read people’s thoughts.

B: **Att det finns nånting sånt!**
 COMP it exist.PRS something like.that
 [I can't believe] **that something like that exists!**

The structure in (57) contains the expression *nånting sånt* 'something like that', which by itself can be interpreted as either a plain demonstrative or as a scalar expression. In its interpretation in (57), it functions as an anaphoric demonstrative, referring back to 'human nature' in the preceding turn. This independent complement clause does not function as an evaluative construction, but as an elaborative one, expanding on what the interlocutor has just said (see further in Section 5 below). If it is interpreted as a scalar expression, however, *nånting sånt* coerces a reading of unexpected evaluation. When this is the case, the structure can no longer be used as an elaboration, but only as a means of expressing surprise, as in (58).

Unexpected evaluatives in Swedish and Danish have one extra formal feature that is not found in the other languages. In these two languages, unexpected evaluatives are frequently (though not obligatorily) preceded by the marker *tänk* (Swedish) or *tænk* (Danish), which is morphologically the imperative form of the complement-taking predicate *tänka/tænka* 'to think' (see Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson 2010 vol. 4: 760 for Swedish). This is illustrated in the following examples:

DANISH (IC)

- (59) *Jeg var henført!*
 'I was carried away!
Tænk at noget så smukt fandtes på hele jorden!
 think COMP something so fine exist.PST on whole earth
[Think] that something so fine existed in the entire world!
Og så i det dystre Leningrad!
 And then in dark Leningrad!
 (http://gorejse.tv2.dk/no_cache/rusland/news-read/article/334/231/,
 28/11/2011)

SWEDISH (IC)

- (60) [title of a blogpost on sanitary towels]
Tänk att något såäckligt nästan kan bli
 think COMP something so unsavoury almost can.PRS become.INF
trevligt!
 pleasant
 '[Think] that something so unsavoury can almost become pleasant!'
 (<http://jenniehellstrom.se/tank-att-nagot-sa-ackligt-nastan-kan-bli-trevligt/>
 24/09/2014)

Various authors have tackled the question to what extent *tänk* or *tænk* in these structures can still be regarded as an imperative. According to Telemann, Hellberg & Andersson (2010 vol. 4: 760), in these contexts Swedish *tänk* is originally an imperative which has lexicalized into an interjection. Hansen & Heltoft (2011: 1159) have analyzed Danish *tænk* in constructions like (59) as a subjective particle. In the context of this study, the most important question is to what extent these complement clauses can still be considered ‘independent’ when they are preceded by a form that is morphologically related to a complement-taking predicate. I will come back to this issue in Chapter 3 (Section 4).

3.2 Expected evaluatives

In this section I discuss constructions that evaluate an actual SoA as expected and annoying. This type was illustrated in (51) above, where the speaker expresses their annoyance that someone is never on time, and in (61) and (62) below:

GERMAN (IC)

(61) [conversation on a forum]

A: *du bist echt die größte witzfigur*

‘you really are the greatest fool

B: *flo, dass du auch immer so direkt sein musst*

COMP you PRT always so direct be.INF must.PRS.IND

flo, [I’m appalled] **that you always have to be so direct**’

(<http://www.wettforum.info/sportwetten/live-live/116623-dienstag-24-01-2012-a-27.html#post1591455>, 18/09/2014)

ICELANDIC (C)

(62) *Að hún skuli aldrei geta hlustað á það sem ég*

COMP she shall.PRS.SBJV never can.INF listen.PPART to DEM REL I

segi.

say.PRS.IND

‘[I’m annoyed] that she can never listen to what I say!’

In (61), the speaker expresses their irritation that the addressee is always too direct, and in (62) the speaker expresses their annoyance at the fact that a particular person never listens to what they say. Constructions like these have received very little attention in the literature so far. When discussing complement ‘expressives’ or ‘exclamatives’, most authors focus on the unexpected constructions that were discussed above; to my knowledge, constructions like (61) and (62) have only been addressed explicitly in our earlier work (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 141 for Dutch; D’Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014: 92 for Swedish and Danish; Verstraete & D’Hertefelt forthcoming for Dutch, German,

Swedish and Danish). This type of evaluatives is attested in all languages under investigation, except for English.

Expected evaluatives evaluate an actual SoAs as expected and always negative. More specifically, they either express the speaker's annoyance at the continuing absence of something they want to happen, or the speaker's irritation at the recurrence of something they do not want to happen again. The former use is illustrated in (51) and (62), where the speaker expresses their annoyance that a particular person is never on time, or never listens; the latter use is illustrated in (61), where the speaker expresses irritation at the fact that a particular person is always too direct.

As with the unexpected evaluatives, the meaning of expected evaluatives is transparently reflected in their formal marking: they typically use a combination of an adverb and a modal verb which either mark inability or necessity. Inability marking is illustrated in (51) and (62) with Swedish *aldrig kan* and Icelandic *aldrei geta*, both meaning 'never can'. Necessity marking is illustrated in the German example in (61) with the combination *immer müssen* 'always must', and in the following example from Dutch with *weer moeten* 'must again':

DUTCH (IC)

- (63) [reaction to a story about someone being wrongfully charged with theft]
dat u weer zoiets moet overkomen!
 COMP you again something.like.that must.PRS happen.INF
 'That something like that should happen to you again!'
 (<http://moeferkoe.wordpress.com/2010/07/17/erin-geluisd-door-megamindy-potverdorie/>, 11/09/2014)

Danish expected evaluatives have one extra formal feature, in the sense that they are obligatorily preceded by the particle *tænk* which was also discussed in the preceding section (Delsing 2010: 33). This is illustrated in the following example, in which the speaker expresses their annoyance at the fact that they always catch a cold:

DANISH (IC)

- (64) *Det svar stillede de andre sig tilfreds med, og på vej ind til byen faldt samtalen i stedet på rejsen. Nu havde de jo ikke længere nogen penge.*
 'The others accepted this answer, and on the way into the village the conversation turned to the journey instead. Now they didn't have enough money anymore.
"Ærgerligt – jeg havde ellers glædet mig til at komme til udlandet," sagde Stina og nøs.
 "Too bad – I was looking forward to travelling abroad", Stina said and sneezed.

Tænk, at hun altid skulle blive forkølet,
 think COMP she always should become.INF cold
 [How annoying] **that she always had to catch a cold**, [lit.: Think that she
 always had to ...]
men det sorte antræk havde nok været for tyndt...
 but the black attire had probably been too thin.'
 (Catharina Ingelman-Sundberg, *Med kup og Kaffelikør*. Art People 2014, accessed
 via Google Books, 24/07/2015).

3.3 Summary

In this section I have discussed independent complement clauses that are used to evaluate an actual SoA in terms of expectedness. On the basis of semantic and formal features two types can be distinguished, i.e. unexpected and expected evaluatives. These two types are found in all the Germanic languages under investigation, with the exception of expected evaluatives which are not found in my English data. Table 4 offers a summary of the most important findings for both types.

4 Assertive constructions

In this section I discuss constructions like (6) above (where the speaker asserts that they finished something in style), and like (65) and (66):

- DUTCH (IC)
- (65) [comment on a picture of someone having a leg massage]
bij de kinesiste.
 'At the physiotherapist's.
en dat het deugd doet..
 and COMP it feel.good.PRS
This sure feels good.' [lit.: And that this feels good.]
 (<https://twitter.com/yesmanhans/status/259042969305362432>, 15/09/2015)

- SWEDISH (Delsing 2010: 34)
- (66) A: *Du är förtjust i Lisbet.*
 'You are fond of Lisbet.
 B: **ATT jag det är!**
 COMP I it be.PRS
I sure am! [lit.: THAT I am!]

Semantic types	Formal marking						
	Type of marking	Dutch	German	English	Danish	Swedish	Icelandic
Unexpected evaluatives: evaluate actual SoA as unexpected (vis-à-vis implicit alternatives)	Particles	(Scalar markers) (Contrastive focus)					
	Other	/	/	/	Frequently preceded by <i>tænk</i>	Frequently preceded by <i>tänk</i>	/
Expected evaluatives: evaluate actual SoA as expected and annoying	Adverb + verb combinations: necessity or inability	<i>altijd / weer moeten, nooit kunnen</i>	<i>(auch) immer müssen</i>		<i>altid måste</i>	<i>alltid måste, aldrig kunna</i>	<i>aldrei geta, alltaf skuli</i>
	Other	/	/		Obligatorily preceded by <i>tænk</i>	/	/

Table 4: Constructional properties of evaluative complement constructions.

Constructions like these are used to assert or emphatically confirm that something is the case. In (65), the complement clause marks the speaker's assertion that they really enjoyed something. In (66), the structure confirms something that was said before, i.e. that the speaker is very fond of Lisbet. These constructions have to my knowledge only briefly been discussed for Swedish, where instances like (66) have been labelled 'reinforcing exclamatives' (Delsing 2010: 34). In this study I opt for the label 'assertive', because this distinguishes these structures from other types of constructions that have frequently been labelled 'exclamatives', most notably the evaluative constructions that were discussed in the previous section.

Assertive constructions like (65) and (66) are very rare in my corpus data, at least with the complementizer 'that'. In some of the languages under investigation 'confirming' structures like (66) are attested with the complementizer used to introduce indirect questions (as shown in the introduction to the descriptive part). This is illustrated in (67) to (70). Since this study focuses on complement clauses introduced by 'that', however, I will not investigate these constructions in any more detail here.

SWEDISH (Delsing 2010: 34)

- (67) A: *Du är förtjust i Lisbet.*
'You are fond of Lisbet.'

B: **OM jag är!**
COMP I be.PRS
I sure am! [lit.: IF I am!]

DANISH (Delsing 2010: 34)

- (68) A: *Trænger du til en smøg?*
'Do you need a smoke?'

B: **OM jeg gør!**
COMP I do.PRS
I sure do! [lit.: IF I do!]

ICELANDIC (Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990: 36)

- (69) *Hvort ég skal ekki muna þetta!*
COMP I shall.PRS.IND NEG remember.INF DEM
'This I will certainly remember!' [lit.: If I shall not remember this!]

DUTCH (IC)

- (70) *Vannacht kreeg ik dus een mailtje of ik het leuk zou vinden als Wim een stukje mee zou rijden in Noorwegen.*
'So tonight I received an email to ask if I would like it if Wim were to accompany me for a bit in Norway.'

En of ik dat leuk vond!

and COMP I DEM nice think.PST

Well of course I liked that! [lit.: And if I thought it was nice!]

(<http://noorsecrohn.nl/?p=528>, 10/09/2015)

Since I have so few examples of assertive constructions introduced by *that*, it is hard to make any generalization regarding their typical form. However, what these examples all seem to have in common is that they appear to require stress on the complementizer. Table 5 offers a very concise summary.

Semantic type	Formal marking					
	Dutch	Swedish	English	Danish	German	Icelandic
Assertive constructions: complement clause states that something is the case	Comp. stressed					

Table 5: Constructional properties of assertive complement constructions.

5 Elaborative constructions

In this section I discuss independent complement clauses that are used to further elaborate on something that was said in the preceding discourse. Some examples of this type were given in (3) and (7) above, repeated here as (71) and (73); an additional example is given in (72):

GERMAN (Maekelberghe 2011: 34)

- (71) *Mhmh. Und können Sie nun die alten Tischler, die gewandert haben, von denen, die nun überhaupt nicht gewandert haben, auseinanderkennen?*

‘Mmm. And can you distinguish the old carpenters, who have travelled around, from those who haven’t travelled at all?’

Daß man nun sagen würde, die haben mehr

COMP one now say.INF will.PST.SBJV these have.PRS.IND more

Erfahrung, mehr...

experience more

That one would say now, these have more experience, more...

DUTCH (CGN; partly cited in Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 127)

- (72) A: *maar stel dat ik ooit wil gaan scannen*

‘but suppose that I ever want to do a scan

- B: *ja*
yes
- A: *dus ik weet niet of je dat wel 'ns*
so I don't know if you've ever
- B: *ja*
yes
- A: *heb je zelf wel 'ns een scan gehad*
have you ever had a scan yourself
- B: *nee*
no
- A: ***dat je in zo'n apparaat gaat***
COMP you in such.a machine go.PRS
that you go in a machine like that
heel groot
very big
hoor je zo ggg
you hear like ggg
- B: *nee nee nooit*
no no never'

SWEDISH (GSLC)

- (73) A: *finns det nån motsättning mellan natur å teknik*
'is there a contrast between nature and technology
- B: ***att naturen skulle sträva åt ett håll å***
COMP nature should strive.INF to one direction and
that nature should strive in one direction and
- A: *ja*
yes
- B: ***eh tekniken åt ett annat***
INTERJ technology to an other
technology in another
- A: *skulle vara oförenliga på något sätt i grunden eller*
should [they] be fundamentally incompatible in one way or another or
- B: *näe inte om man äh strävar efter å tämja naturen*
no not if one strives to tame nature'

The complement clause in (71) serves to elaborate on the speaker's preceding question: the speaker first asks if their interlocutor can distinguish between two types of carpenters, and then gives an example of potential differences in the complement clause that follows. In (72), the speaker uses an independent complement clause to further explain the term 'scan' introduced just before. In (73), the speaker uses a complement clause to elaborate on something their interlocutor said, i.e. the complement clause serves to paraphrase what the interlocutor could have meant with 'contrast between nature and technology'.

Constructions like these have been discussed in the literature, especially for Swedish (Lehti-Eklund 2001; Anward 2003: 70; Lyngfelt 2003; Lindström & Londen 2008: 113; Mertzlufft & Wide 2013; D’Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014: 92; Wide 2014) and German (Schlobinski 1988; Günthner 2011; Maekelberghe 2011: 32; Günthner 2012; Weinert 2012; Günthner 2013; Mertzlufft & Wide 2013), and to a lesser extent also for Danish (D’Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014: 92), Dutch (De Rooy 1965: 124; Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 142), and all of these languages plus English (Verstraete & D’Hertefelt forthcoming). Similar constructions have not been discussed for Icelandic and do not occur in my data for this language. However, since my Icelandic examples mainly come from written language and elicitation work, further research on spoken Icelandic is needed to see if this type does occur or not.

Constructions like (71) to (73) have received a number of different labels in the literature, like ‘discursive constructions’ (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 142 for Dutch), ‘expansions’ (Maekelberghe 2011: 32 and Günthner 2013 for German) or ‘elaborations’ (Lindström & Londen 2008: 113 for Swedish; D’Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014 for Swedish and Danish). In this study I adopt the latter label, because it best captures the semantics of these constructions, which is to elaborate on an aspect of the preceding discourse. The previous examples illustrate that such structures can be used to elaborate on (an aspect of) the speaker’s own preceding discourse, as in (71) and (72), or on the interlocutor’s preceding turn, as in (73). In the following paragraphs, I will discuss these two variants separately.

When an elaborative complement clause is used to elaborate on something which the speaker said before, the construction functions as a kind of turn increment, i.e. a “nonmain-clause continuation of a speaker’s turn after the speaker has come to what could have been a completion point [...] based on prosody, syntax, and sequential action” (Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002: 16; see also Günthner 2013: 228 on German elaborative constructions as ‘increments’). Elaborative increments are found in all languages except Icelandic. They can be used to elaborate on a specific element from the speaker’s previous turn, as was the case in (72), where the complement clause ‘that you go in a machine like that’ is used to further explain the concept ‘scan’. The same applies to the following example from Swedish, where the independent complement clause ‘that one can switch foreign shares for other foreign shares’ further explains the concept *switchförandet* ‘switch procedure’ that was introduced in the speaker’s previous turn.

SWEDISH (GSLC)

- (74) A: *men det finns det ju fortfarande i sverige finns det ju valutareglering kvar som som reglerar huruvida man kan handlade med aktier över gränsen å då finns det ju dels det här switchförfarandet då*
 'but it still exists in Sweden there still exists currency regulation which which regulates how one can trade in shares across the border and then there partly exists this switch procedure

B: *ja*

yes

- A: **att man kan switcha // switcha utländska aktier //**
 COMP one can.PRS switch.INF switch.INF foreign shares
mot andra utlänska aktier
 against other foreign shares
that one can switch // switch foreign shares // for other foreign shares
å så får man betala en switchpremie för detta
 and then one has to pay a switch levy for that'

In addition to explaining specific elements from the speaker's previous turn, elaborative increments can also be used to elaborate on the speaker's entire previous turn. This use was illustrated in (71) above, where the complement clause 'that one can say, those have more experience' further explains the speaker's preceding question regarding differences between two kinds of carpenters. A similar example from Danish is given below:

DANISH (BySoc)

- (75) A: *hvor lang tid boede du hjemme altså nu siger du du er ved at flytte nu*
 'how long have you lived at home now you say you're on the verge of moving
- B: *ja boet hjemme og boet hjemme altså det har sådan set været min egen lejlighed den her nede ik'*
 yes lived at home and lived at home well it's been like my own apartment this one down here right
- A: *ja*
 yes
- B: **at det så var far og mor der boede på første sal**
 COMP it PRT be.PST dad and mum REL live.PST on first floor
that it was dad and mum who lived on the first floor
ja det var sådan mere eller mindre tilfælde ik'
 yes that was more or less the case right

A: *nå nå*
well well'

In this example, the complement clause 'that it was dad and mum who lived on the first floor' serves to further elaborate on the organization of the house which the speaker started discussing in their previous turn ('the downstairs floor was my apartment').

Finally, elaborative increments can also be used to offer some kind of conclusion to an even more extensive part of the previous discourse. This use is illustrated in the following example from English:¹⁷

ENGLISH (WordBanks)

(76) A: *And and how does it feel now being twelve eight as opposed to twenty one eight?*

B: *Er well now I'm forty. I am married to a a lady who would have preferred me when I was big.*

A: *Mm.*

B: *Because the operations I had to lose weight er due to other circumstances have really screwed me up.*

A: *Yeah.*

B: *Er it's accelerated multiple sclerosis and other things you know.*

A: *Mm.*

B: ***That I would have been a lot better to stay fat.***

A: *But you weren't to know that at the time.*

B: *Of course not.*

In this example, the complement clause concludes what the speaker was explaining in their previous turns about the complications they had to endure after a number of operations to lose weight.

The preceding examples show that elaborative increments can be used with variable scope over the preceding discourse, depending on which part of this discourse they elaborate (see also Maekelberghe 2011: 33-34, and Mertzlufft & Wide 2013: 224). When they elaborate on a specific element from the previous discourse, as in (72) or (74), the construction has narrow scope. Elaborative increments that are used to paraphrase an entire previous turn like (71) and (75) have wider scope, and when they are used to offer a conclusion on an entire stretch of discourse as in (76) they have very wide scope.

¹⁷ Elaborative constructions do not occur very frequently in my English data. This has also been pointed out by Weinert (2012: 256), who argues that such constructions are far more frequent in German. She suggests that this difference in frequency may be due to more general structural differences between English and German complementation (Weinert 2012: 260), but further research is needed to check this.

In addition to elaborating the speaker's own previous turn, in Danish, Swedish and German elaborative constructions can also be used to elaborate on something the interlocutor said.¹⁸ An example was given in (73) above, repeated here as (77):

SWEDISH (GSLC)

- (77) A: *finns det nån motsättning mellan natur å teknik*
 'is there a contrast between nature and technology'
 B: *att naturen skulle sträva åt ett håll å*
 COMP nature should strive.INF to one direction and
that nature should strive in one direction and
 A: *ja*
 yes
 B: *eh tekniken åt ett annat*
 INTERJ technology to an other
technology in another
 A: *skulle vara oförenliga på något sätt i grunden eller*
 should [they] be fundamentally incompatible in one way or another or
 B: *näe inte om man äh strävar efter å tämja naturen*
 no not if one strives to tame nature'

In this example, the speaker uses an independent complement clause to rephrase what the interlocutor has just said, as a means to check if they have understood them correctly. In the literature on conversation analysis, structures with this function are called 'formulations', i.e. constructions that "involv[e] a specific assertion of a specific understanding of some segment of talk and work to solicit a confirmation of that understanding by another" (Heritage & Watson 1980: 260). Elaborative formulations typically require some form of uptake by the interlocutor, who needs to indicate if the speaker's interpretation of their previous turn is correct or not (see also Günthner 2011: 24). This is illustrated in (77), where A explicitly confirms B's elaboration.

In the previous example, the complement clause served to elaborate on a specific element from the interlocutor's previous turn, i.e. 'contrast between nature and technology'. Just like elaborative increments, elaborative formulations can also be used with wider scope, to elaborate on the interlocutor's entire preceding turn. This is illustrated in the following example from Danish:

¹⁸ Further corpus research is needed to see to what extent such structures are also used in the other languages under investigation.

DANISH (BySoc)

- (78) A: *ja det kan jeg det kan jeg nemlig huske # og jeg (rømmer sig) og så bemærket den når jeg så har været hjemme og været sammen med nogen ik' ££*

'yes I can, you see I can remember that # and I (clears throat) and so I noticed it when I was at home and was together with someone ££

- B: **at de så har bemærket det £ eller at du (uf)**

COMP they PRT have.PRS notice.PPART DEM or COMP you

that they noticed it £ or that you

- A: *ja eller jeg selv har bemærket det*
yes or I myself noticed it'

In this example, the complement clause paraphrases what A has said in their previous turn about something they noticed when they were at home with a particular person. The complement clause here function as a means to check if B has understood A correctly about who noticed something, which is confirmed by the fact that A first agrees with B's paraphrase ('yes') and then corrects it ('or that I myself noticed it').

Finally, elaborative formulations can also be used to formulate some sort of conclusion to a larger stretch of discourse by the interlocutor. This is illustrated in the following example from German:

GERMAN (Schlobinsky 1988: 43; cited in Evans 2007: 400)

- (79) Client:

Ich glaub, also, ich geb erstmal klein bei, um (.) wenn ich jetzt nochmal was dagegen sage, kann ich mir einfach nicht erlauben, dann wird er wieder laut. Also muß ich schon mal klein beigeben.

'I think I pull in my horns at first, in order (.) if I say something against that again, I just can't allow myself to do that, then he'll start yelling. That's why I have to pull in my horns a bit.

Therapist:

Daß Sie doch jetzt das Gefühl haben, sich ducken zu

COMP you PRT now the feeling have.PRS.IND REFL stoop.INF INFM

müssen.

must.INF

That you already have the feeling now you have to knuckle under.'

In this example, the complement clause 'that you have the feeling you have to knuckle under' summarizes the interlocutor's preceding description of how they deal with a particular person (see Schlobinski 1988 for a more detailed analysis of such 'conclusive' elaborative formulations in German client-centred therapeutical discourse). In general, the previous examples illustrate that elaborative formulations show the same variable scope as elaborative increments, since they can be used to elaborate on a specific element from the interlocutor's previous

turn as in (77), on the interlocutor's entire preceding turn as in (78), or to conclude a larger stretch of discourse, as in (79).

Elaborative formulations and increments always serve to further explain or paraphrase something that was said before. For this reason, they depend on this preceding discourse for their proper interpretation. Consider the following examples:

ENGLISH (WordBanks)

(80) *That I would have been a lot better to stay fat.*

GERMAN (Schlobinsky 1988: 43; cited in Evans 2007: 400)

(81) *Daß Sie doch jetzt das Gefühl haben, sich ducken zu*
 COMP you PRT now the feeling have.PRS.IND REFL stoop.INF INFM
müssen.

must.INF

'That you already have the feeling now you have to knuckle under.'

When used in isolation, these complement clauses are difficult to interpret: their elaborative semantics as an explanation or a proposed interpretation of something that was said before only becomes clear in combination with this preceding discourse. Although elaborative constructions frequently occur without main clauses and are as such syntactically 'independent', they still seem to exhibit a certain degree of 'pragmatic' or 'discursive' dependence vis-à-vis the discourse which they elaborate (Weinert 2012: 252; see also Lindström & Londen 2008: 128 on 'pragmatic dependence' in similar constructions). I will come back to this issue in Chapter 3, where I will investigate how this discursive dependence is problematic for an analysis of elaborative constructions as 'independent' main clauses in their own right.

At the interactional level, elaborative formulations are different from elaborative increments in that the former expect some form of uptake by the interlocutor, while the latter do not. Their basic semantics, however, is the same, since both types serve to expand on something that was said before. Neither type occurs with any obligatory formal markers, but there are a few elements that are found frequently in both increments and formulations. First, elaborative constructions frequently use markers that serve to strengthen their descriptive character, like Dutch *zo'n* in *zo'n apparaat* 'such a machine' in (72), Danish *så* 'so' in examples (75) and (78), or German *also* 'so' (Günthner 2011: 25; see also Schlobinsky 1988: 46 on the use of *so* 'so' in German elaborative formulations). Furthermore, elaborative constructions can also use markers that focus on the relation between speaker and interlocutor as they are trying to arrive at a common understanding of something. An example of such a marker is the Swedish discursive particle *ju* which is used to "demand the hearer's approbation and to establish rapport and harmony" (Aijmer 1996: 421; see also Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 1050 on the Danish counterpart *jo*, which is also used in elaborative

clauses). The elaborative use of *ju* is illustrated in the following Swedish example, where the speaker uses a complement clause to elaborate on their own previous turn:

SWEDISH (GSLC)

- (82) A: *om vi skulle fråga våra eh förstaklassare här om dom vill ha betyg eller inte skulle dom inte fatta vad det handlade om vet inte hur vad betyg eller vad det e (...) så det ju nånting som / andra lägger på*
 ‘if we were to ask our first-graders here if they want to have a diploma or not they wouldn’t understand what it was about, don’t know how what grades or what it is (...) so it’s something that / others impose
- B: *ja*
 yes
- A: ***att det det kommer ju sen automatist i skolan att man får betyg***
 COMP DEM DEM come.PRS PRT afterwards automatically in
 school COMP one get.PRS grades
that grades come automatically in school
å då kommer den här / konkurrensen ännu mera in tror jag va
 and then this / competition starts even more I think right’

A similar marker that plays on the relation between speaker and interlocutor would be an expression like English *you know*. This is illustrated in the following example, where the complement clause elaborates on the speaker’s plans to set up a fund:

ENGLISH (WordBanks)

- (83) A: *Right. Erm I feel the young man may not have given his life for his country but I do feel that er if he joined the army or the navy or the air force he is erm he which he should get a pension that is erm applicable for the when you know God forbid anything happens to you while you’re in these sort of places.*
- B: *Mm.*
- A: *Erm I th th think it might be a nice idea I don’t know whether it’s possible or not to have a fund set up for him. **That you know if the government aren’t helping him at least we in the West Midlands can.** Er I don’t know how to set you know how to go about this.*

Table 6 summarizes the most important findings for elaborative constructions.

Semantic types	Formal marking					
	Dutch	German	English	Danish	Swedish	Icelandic
Elaborative increments: elaborate on the speaker's own previous discourse	Descriptive markers (<i>zo</i>)	(Descriptive markers <i>also, so</i>)	(you know)	(Descriptive markers <i>så</i>) (Particles <i>jo</i>)	(Particles <i>ju</i>)	
Elaborative formulations: elaborate on the interlocutor's previous discourse						

Table 6: Constructional properties of elaborative complement constructions.

6 Conclusions

In this chapter I have presented a constructional typology of independent complement clauses in Dutch, German, English, Swedish, Danish and Icelandic. To round off this chapter, I provide two overviews, one focusing on the types of constructions that were distinguished, and another focusing on the distribution of the construction types across the languages studied. Table 8 below provides the constructional summary. I have shown that independent complement constructions can have deontic, evaluative, assertive and elaborative meanings, and that within each of these categories further subdivisions can be made on the basis of further semantic and formal criteria.

Another finding of this chapter is that the distribution of constructions over the different languages is unequal, as some languages have a wider range than others. These findings are summarized in Table 7:

Semantic type				Dutch	German	English	Danish	Swedish	Icelandic
Deontic	Uncontrolled	Potential short-range		X	X				
		Potential long-range		X	X	X			
		Irrealis			X	X	†	†	
		Counterfactual			X	X			
	Controlled	Strong	Order / Prohibition	X	X				
		Weak	Advice	X					
			Permission	X					
			Challenge	X					
Evaluative	Unexpected			X	X	X	X	X	X
	Expected and negative			X	X		X	X	X
Assertive				X				X	
Elaborative	Increments			X	X	X	X	X	?
	Formulations			?	X	X	?	X	?

Table 7: Cross-linguistic availability of independent complement constructions in six Germanic languages.

In Table 7, 'X' signifies that a particular construction type is attested in a particular language. An empty cell signals that a particular construction is not attested in my data, and is not possible according to native speakers. A question mark '?' indicates that a particular construction is not attested in my data for a particular language, but further corpus research is needed to see if this construction is impossible in that language or just infrequent. This is the case for the different types of elaborative constructions, which were difficult to check via elicitation

with native speakers. Of course, diachronic corpus research could reveal that some constructions which are marked as 'not attested' in this table are in fact obsolete, but this does not alter this synchronic overview. The findings in this table show that there are clear cross-linguistic differences in the availability of the different constructions: while some languages (most notably Dutch and German, and to a lesser extent also English) have a wide variety of types at their disposal, the other three languages are much more restricted in this respect.

Semantic types			Formal marking
Deontic constructions: evaluate a potential SOA in terms of desirability	Uncontrolled: - addressee not assumed to control potential realization - speaker does not influence realization	Potential short-range wishes: - potential realization located in present or immediate future - no reservations about potential realization	- particles (e.g. English <i>only</i>) - present tense form
		Potential long-range wishes: - potential realization located in or projected into indefinite future - no reservations about potential realization	- verbs of potentiality ('may', 'can') - present tense form (- particles (e.g. English <i>only</i>))
		Irrealis wishes: - potential realization evaluated as improbable	- particles (e.g. English <i>only</i>) - past tense form
		Counterfactual wishes: - potential realization evaluated as impossible	- particles (e.g. English <i>only</i>) - past perfect form
	Controlled: - addressee assumed to control potential realization - speaker's utterance influences realization	Strong: - speaker strongly committed to potential realization - speaker and addressee have conflicting attitudes	Order / prohibition: speaker tells addressee (not) to do something
		Weak: - speaker weakly committed to potential realization - speaker and addressee have aligned attitudes	Permission: speaker allows addressee to do something
			Advice: speaker advises addressee to do something
			Challenge: speaker challenges addressee to do something speaker believes they cannot or may not do
			- particles (Dutch <i>maar</i> , German <i>ja</i> , <i>aber</i> , <i>bloss</i> , <i>mir</i>) - present tense form
			- particles (Dutch <i>maar</i> , <i>gerust</i>) - present tense form
			- particles (Dutch <i>misschien</i> , <i>eens</i>) - present tense form
			- particles (Dutch <i>maar</i> + <i>eens</i>) - present tense form

Semantic types		Formal marking
Evaluative constructions: evaluate an actual SoA in terms of expectedness	Unexpected: - SoA evaluated as unexpected - positive or negative evaluation to be derived from context	- scalar marking (explicit or implicit via e.g. contrastive focus)
	Expected: - SoA evaluated as expected and negative	- combination adverb + modal verb expressing necessity ('always must') or inability ('never can')
Assertive constructions: assert that something is the case		(- complementizer stressed)
Elaborative constructions: elaborate on previous discourse	Increment: elaboration of speaker's previous turn	(- descriptive markers ('so', 'such'))
	Formulation: elaboration of interlocutor's previous turn	(- markers that play on relation between speaker and interlocutor ('you know'))

Table 8: Constructional properties of independent complement constructions in six Germanic languages.

CHAPTER 2

A constructional typology of independent conditional clauses

1 Introduction

In this chapter I present a descriptive analysis of independent conditional clauses. I investigate constructions introduced by the conditional subordinators *if* in English, *als* in Dutch, *wenn* in German, *om* in Swedish, *hvis* in Danish and *ef* in Icelandic. Some examples are given below:

DANISH (IC)

- (1) A: **Hvis du kort kan give læserne en intro til dig selv?**
COND you briefly can.PRS give.INF readers an intro to yourself
'If you can briefly introduce yourself to our readers?

B: *Okay, jeg hedder Jan Rolfsted, er 47 år*

Okay, my name is Jan Rolfsted, I'm 47 years old'

(<http://www.heavymetal.dk/interview/behind-festival-svendborg-metal-festival?id=174>, 21/10/2014)

DUTCH (IC)

- (2) A: *Hey,*
'Hi,
wij hebben reeds een 3 jaar een Suzuki Vitara JLX van '91.
We have had a Suzuki Vitara JLX from '91 for about three years.
Wij zoeken deze te verkopen en een gewoon stadsautotje [sic] te kopen
waar ikzelf mee kan leren rijden.
We would like to sell it and buy a regular small city car in which I can learn how to drive.

[...]

B: *zoude die ni beter houden? Ge gaat er nog spijt van hebben!!*

Wouldn't it be better to keep this [car]? You'll regret this!!

Allee jong, als ge hier mee kunt leren rijden...

INTERJ man COND you here with can.PRS learn.INF drive.INF

I mean come on, **if you can learn how to drive in this car...**'

(<http://forum.belgium4x4.be/archive/index.php?t-21234.html>, 20/10/2014)

ENGLISH (Panther & Thornburg 2003: 142)

- (3) *So it had been chance that saved the organisation. **If Rickie Oppenheimer hadn't picked up the wrong valise...** But Rickie shouldn't have been*

carrying a brief-case that morning. Every other time he'd left it in the office at the Blue Bottle Club. Monday night he'd broken a long-standing habit.

These examples show that independent conditional clauses, like the complement clauses in the previous chapter, can express a range of meanings. The conditional clause in (1) expresses a request for the addressee to introduce himself. In (2), the speaker uses a conditional clause to evaluate the use of a Suzuki in learning how to drive as remarkable and positive, and in (3) the conditional clause functions as an invitation to consider a particular SoA and imagine what its consequences would have been, thus forming the starting point of a process of reasoning.

While some of these types have been discussed in the literature, other types have largely remained under the radar. Unlike with the independent complement clauses discussed in the previous chapter, there is almost no literature focusing on one particular type of independent conditional (one notable exception is Grosz' (2012) work on optative constructions, where he discusses 'optative' conditional clauses together with complement wishes). Instead, most literature on independent conditional clauses presents classifications of different types of constructions. Some authors present semantic/pragmatic classifications, like Panther & Thornburg (2005) for English, Boogaart & Verheij (2013) for Dutch, Buscha (1976) and Thurmair (1989) for German, and Lindström (Ms.) and Laury, Lindholm & Lindström (2013) for Swedish. Other classifications are based on a mix of semantic/pragmatic and syntactic criteria. Some authors (e.g. Oppenrieder 1989 for German; Stirling 1999 for English) first classify independent conditional clauses in terms of their relation to an assumed main clause (e.g. can a main clause be reconstructed, and is there a matrix 'candidate' in the surrounding discourse?), and then switch to pragmatic criteria for distinguishing further subtypes. Other authors alternatively use semantic/pragmatic and syntactic criteria for the classification of independent conditional clauses, labeling some categories according to their formal properties while using pragmatic labels for other categories (e.g. Declerck & Reed 2001, who distinguish for instance 'exclamations of surprise' from '*if you say so*' and 'Q-less *if*-clauses as independent questions', and Panther & Thornburg 2003, who distinguish for instance 'offers' from '*negative p* expressives'). Finally, Heine, Kaltenböck & Kuteva (forthcoming) distinguish three categories of English independent conditional clauses on the basis of their degree of constructionalization, without evoking semantic/pragmatic parameters at all.

So far, independent conditional clauses have been discussed for Dutch, German, English and Swedish. To my knowledge, there is no principled analysis of such constructions for Danish and Icelandic. In this chapter, I present a constructional classification of independent conditional clauses in all six languages. I identify six basic semantic categories, which I will label deontic, evaluative, assertive, argumentative, reasoning, and post-modifying. The first three categories also featured in my analysis of independent complement clauses

in the previous chapter, and will be defined here in more or less the same way. That is, deontic independent conditional clauses are constructions which refer to a potential SoA that is evaluated in terms of desirability. The request in (1) above is an example of this type, as is the following construction that expresses the speaker's wish:

GERMAN (IC)

- (4) *Ich denke, so ähnlich hofften die Menschen damals auch:*

'I think in those days people had similar hopes:

Wenn er nur bald kommt,

COND he PRT fast come.PRS.IND

If only he comes soon,

der Heilsbringer, der verheißene Sohn Davids, der Messias, der Menschensohn, der Weltverbesserer, von dem wir unser ganzes Glück erhoffen.

the redeemer, David's promised son, the Messiah, the Son of Man, the world reformer, of whom we expect our whole happiness.'

(<http://www.kanzelgruss.de/index.php?seite=predigt&id=1322>, 21/10/2014)

Evaluative constructions are used to evaluate a particular SoA as remarkable, negative or absurd. An example of this type was given in (2), where the speaker evaluates the use of a particular brand of car as remarkable; a further example is given below, where the speaker evaluates seeing someone as negative:

GERMAN (Pasch et al. 2003: 400)

- (5) *Da kommt Peter.*

'There comes Peter.

Wenn ich den schon SEhe.

COND I DEM PRT see.PRS.IND

Ugh, **just seeing him makes me sick.**' [lit.: If I just sEE him.]

Independent conditional clauses can also be used to assert that something is the case. An example of such an assertive construction is given in (6):

ICELANDIC (IC)

- (6) *Jú, ef það skyldi ekki vera Steingrímur J. Sigfússon*

yes COND DEM shall.PST.SBJV NEG be.INF NAME

sjálfur sem flutti ræðuna!

self REL give.PST.IND speech

'Yes, if it wasn't Steingrímur Sigfússon himself who gave the talk!'

(<http://islandsfengur.blog.is/blog/islandsfengur/?month=12;year=2009;offset=29>, 21/10/2014)

A fourth type of independent conditional clauses are constructions that justify (the speaker's implied attitude towards) something that was said before. I will label such constructions 'argumentative'. This type is illustrated in the following example, where the conditional clause 'if it's as filthy on the boats as Inge said' motivates the speaker's decision to take her jeans skirt:

SWEDISH (GSLC)

- (7) A: *sen / sen tar jag nog jeansskjol- även om den är rätt varm så är den tålig*
 'then / then I'll also take my jeans skirt even though it's quite warm it's sturdy
 B: *mm*
mm
 A: ***om det nu är så smutsigt på båtarna som inge sade***
 COND DEM PRT be.PRS so filthy on boats REL NAME say.PST
if it's as filthy on the boats as Inge said
 B: *mm*
mm
 A: *å så tar jag med mej den där tunna kjolen också*
 and then I'll also take that thin skirt with me'

The fifth category are constructions that function as an invitation to consider a particular SoA and imagine what its consequences would be. Such constructions form the starting point for an invited reasoning process, and will be called 'reasoning'. An example of this type was given in (3) above; a further example is given in (8):

GERMAN (IC)

- (8) *Zahnlückes Lachen bricht jäh ab, als der Kleine wieder fragt:*
 'Toothgap's laughter breaks off, as the Little one asks again:
„Und wenn er doch kommt?“
 and COND he PRT come.PRS.IND
“And if he does come?”
„Dann nehmen wir ihn auseinander, Pfannkuchen.“
 "Then we'll take him apart, Pancake."
 (http://www.nuertinger-stattzeitung.de/extras/1_PeterText.htm, 17/11/2014)

The sixth and final category are conditional clauses that formulate an extra condition for something which was said before. I will use the label 'post-modifying' for constructions like these. An example is given in (9):

SWEDISH (GSLC)

- (9) A: *mm jag tror i längden liksom så lönar det sig trots allt att satsa på miljön / för att*
 ‘mm I believe eventually in spite of everything it pays off to invest in the environment / because
 B: *m*
 mm
 C: *m*
 mm
 B: *ja absolut*
 yes absolutely
 A: ***om man gör det eh i god tid liksom***
 COND one do.PRS DEM INTERJ in due time PRT
if one does it on time
 C: *definitivt*
 definitely’

In this example, the conditional clause specifies an extra condition for the speaker’s preceding assertion, i.e. it pays off to invest in the environment, *on the condition that* you do it in time.

These six semantic categories will be discussed in more detail in the following six sections. As with the complement clauses, further subtypes will be distinguished on the basis of additional semantic and formal criteria. At the end of this chapter, I present a summary of the most important constructional and cross-linguistic findings.

2 Deontic constructions

In this section I discuss constructions like (1) and (4) above, and like (10) to (12):

GERMAN (IC)

- (10) *Es ist kalt. Alle Tiere frieren und warten auf die Sonne.*
 ‘It’s cold. All animals feel cold and are waiting for the sun.
Wenn sie nur bald wieder scheint.
 COND she PRT soon again shine.PRS
If only it can shine again soon.’
 (http://archive-ch.com/ch/k/kinderkrippe-murmel.ch/2013-01-22_1212432_10/Kinderkrippe_und_Kinderhort_Murmel_Juli_2007/, 11/09/2015)

DANISH (IC)

- (11) *Det er godt nok lidt tid siden jeg har spillet spillet,*
 ‘It’s been a while since I’ve played this game,

så hvis du kort kan fortælle hvad reglerne er?
 so COND you briefly can.PRS tell.INF what rules be.PRS
 so if you can briefly tell what the rules are?
 (<http://www.eksperten.dk/spm/140399>, 28/09/2015)

ENGLISH (IC)

- (12) *Instead of putting our concern into action, we resort to the feeble offering, "If there's anything I can do..." We mean, of course, I want to help.*
 (<http://www.triadpublishing.com/helping.shtml>, 20/10/2014)

In (10), the speaker expresses their wish that the sun will shine again soon. In (11), the speaker asks the addressee to introduce himself, and the conditional clause in (12) is used to offer help to the addressee. All of these constructions refer to a potential SoA that is evaluated in terms of desirability. In the previous chapter I introduced the label 'deontic' for complement clauses that express similar meanings, and I will use the same general label for conditional clauses like (10) to (12).

As with the deontic complement clauses, the parameter of control can be used to further distinguish between 'uncontrolled' and 'controlled' conditional constructions. In uncontrolled constructions like (10), the potential realization of the SoA (e.g. the sun starts shining) is not presented as being controlled by any one of the discourse participants, and the speaker does not influence its potential realization with their utterance. These constructions are discussed in more detail in Section 2.1. In controlled constructions like (11) and (12), the potential realization of the SoA is controlled by either the addressee or the speaker, and the speaker's utterance influences this potential realization. Controlled constructions are discussed in more detail in Section 2.2.

2.1 Uncontrolled deontic constructions

In this section I discuss constructions like (4) and (10) above, where the speaker wishes for the Messiah to come or the sun to start shining, and constructions like (13) to (15):

SWEDISH (Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson 2010 vol. 4: 775)

- (13) *Om säden bara börjar växa snart igen.*
 COND seed PRT start.PRS grow.INF soon again
 'If only the seed starts growing again soon.'

ENGLISH (IC)

- (14) *"Hi! Boy!" I shouted, "take the oars, and row."*

I might as well have held my tongue, for he could not understand a word; and as I shouted again and again I looked at him despairingly, for he was sitting on the thwart laughing [...]

"Oh, if I could only make him understand!--if I could only make him understand!" I kept thinking, as I shouted again hoarsely; and this time he did seem to comprehend that something was wrong

(<http://www.readbookonline.net/read/41794/88531/>, 20/11/2014)

DANISH (IC)

(15) *Hvis jeg bare havde vidst det...*

COND I PRT have.PST know.PPART DEM

'If only I'd known...

Henrik Hagen fik en ubehagelig bivirkning efter at have medvirket i forskning.

Henrik Hagen got an uncomfortable side-effect after having participated in the investigation.'

(<http://www.b.dk/danmark/hvis-jeg-bare-havde-vidst-det>, 02/03/2015)

In (13), the speaker wishes for the seed to start growing soon, and in (14) the speaker expresses their wish to be able to make someone understand. In (15), the speaker wishes that something had happened in the past, i.e. that they had known something. These constructions all refer to potential SoAs evaluated as desirable by the speaker, but their realization is presented as not being controlled by the speaker or the addressee. Constructions like these are found in all six languages investigated here,¹⁹ and they form one of the better described types of independent conditional clauses. They have received various labels in the literature, like 'optative' (Stirling 1999: 285 for English; Grosz 2012: 8 for English, German and Dutch), 'desiderative' (Lindström Ms.; Laury, Lindholm & Lindström 2013: 240 for Swedish), 'desire' (Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 18 for Dutch), or 'wish' (Declerck & Reed 2001: 385 and Panther & Thornburg 2003: 137 for English; De Rooy 1965: 119 and Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 18 for Dutch; Buscha 1976: 275, Weuster 1983: 59 and Oppenrieder 1989: 200 for German; Andersson 1982: 72 and Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson 2010 vol. 4: 773 for Swedish). As with complement constructions, I will use the general label 'uncontrolled deontic constructions', since this nicely captures the specific semantics of these structures and clearly distinguishes them from the controlled constructions to be discussed in Section 2.2. For ease of reference, however, I use the label 'wish' to discuss specific types and instances of such structures.

Within the uncontrolled category, three subtypes can be distinguished on the basis of the semantic parameter proposed for complement constructions in

¹⁹ With the exception of structures like (13), which are not attested in Danish, as I will show below.

Chapter 1, i.e. depending on whether the speaker evaluates the potential realization of the SoA as possible, as in (13) above, improbable, as in (14) above, or impossible, as in (15). These three subtypes are discussed in more detail in the next three sections.

2.1.1 Potential wishes

Potential wishes are constructions with which the speaker evaluates a particular SoA as desirable and indicates that they have no reservations concerning its potential realization. An example of a potential wish was given in (13), where the speaker expresses their wish that the seed might start growing again soon, in (10), where the speaker wishes for the sun to start shining, and in (4), partly repeated here as (16), where the speaker expresses their wish that the Messiah might come soon:

GERMAN (IC)

(16) *Wenn er nur bald kommt*

COND he PRT fast come.PRS.IND

If only he comes soon

(<http://www.kanzelgruss.de/index.php?seite=predigt&id=1322>, 21/10/2014)

Constructions like these have received limited attention in the literature, where they have been discussed for Dutch (Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 18), German (Buscha 1976: 275; Weuster 1983: 60; Oppenrieder 1989: 200; Thurmair 1989: 52) and Swedish (Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson 2010 vol. 4: 774). Almost all of these authors have discussed these constructions as instances of a general ‘wish’ or ‘optative’ type, without distinguishing them from the irrealis and counterfactual wishes to be discussed in the next two subsections. In order to make this distinction, I use the label ‘potential wishes’.

Potential wishes have been described for three of the languages under investigation, but they have not been discussed in the literature on English, Danish and Icelandic. However, they do occur in my English data, as is shown in (18) below, and according to Icelandic native speakers structures like the following are also grammatical (though I have not attested them in my corpus data):

ICELANDIC (C)

(17) *Ef þú bara dettur ekki!*

COND you PRT fall.PRS.IND NEG

‘If only you don’t fall!’

I have not found any examples of this type in my Danish data, at least not with the conditional subordinator *hvis*.²⁰

Potential wishes obligatorily use a present tense form and indicative mood (see Thurmair 1989: 53 for German). They typically express the speaker's wish that something will happen in the future, as in (16) and (17), but they can also be used to express the speaker's wish that something is happening in the present, i.e. at the moment of speaking. This is illustrated in the following example, where the speaker expresses their wish that it is not snowing at that particular moment:

ENGLISH (IC)

- (18) *Meg settled herself comfortably, sighed, and in a few moments was asleep. "If only it isn't snowing!" murmured Alda.*

But as they stepped out into the porch a shower of flakes blew in to meet them

(Stella Gibbons, *The Matchmaker*. Random House 2011, accessed via Google Books, 18/11/2014)

In addition, potential wishes can also concern a past SoA. This is illustrated in the following example, where the speaker expresses their wish that something might have gone well before the moment of speaking:

²⁰ Danish *bare* and Swedish *bara* are frequently used as 'optative' particles occurring in independent wishes, as is illustrated in examples (13) and (15) above. However, as I briefly indicated in the introduction to the descriptive part, these forms can also function as conditional subordinators, which frequently occur at the beginning of 'independent' (i.e. 'main clause-less') clauses expressing wishes (see Rosenkvist 2004 on the (diachronic) relation between *bara/e* as a 'desiderative' particle and a conditional subordinator). A Danish example of a potential wish introduced by the conditional subordinator *bare* is:

DANISH (IC)

- (1) ***Bare han kommer hjem.***

COND he come.PRS home

'If only he comes home.'

Det regner og tordner og han er stadig ude..

It is raining and thundering and he's still out..'

(<http://www.hestenettet.dk/forum/1/1509061/1509061/>, 18/11/2014)

In this study I only focus on structures introduced by the 'default' conditional subordinators, so I will not discuss structures like these in more detail. However, the fact that Swedish and Danish have an alternative means of expressing these optative meanings might explain why wishes headed by Swedish *om* and Danish *hvis* are not attested that frequently in my sample.

DUTCH (IC)

(19) [Twitter-conversation]

A: *Ja hoor! Ik heb gestemd! Op wie? Jaaaaaaa..... ;-)*

'Sure! I voted! For whom? Weeeeeeeeell ... [smiley]

B: ***Als dat maar goed gegaan is zonder bril!***

COND DEM PRT well go.PPART be.PRS without glasses

'If only that went well without glasses!'

(https://twitter.com/PaulusVII/status/446327899025846272, 18/11/2014)

In sum, potential wishes can concern SoAs with past, present and future realization. What all these wishes have in common, however, is that the verification of the SoA, i.e. the knowledge if the speaker's wish is realized or not, is located in the future. In other words, although a potential wish may concern something that is happening or has happened already, the construction signals that at the moment of speaking, the speaker does not yet know if their wish has been, is or will be realized (see also Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson 2010 vol. 4: 774).

In addition to present tense forms, potential wishes always use 'optative' particles like German *doch*, *bloss* or *nur* in (10) and (16), Swedish *bara* in (13) or *ändå* in (20) below, Icelandic *bara* in (17), English *only* in (18) or Dutch *maar* in (19).

SWEDISH (Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson 2010 vol. 4: 774)

(20) *Om det ändå ligger pengar i brevet!*

COND it PRT lie.PRS money in letter

'If only there's money in the letter!'

2.1.2 Irrealis wishes

A second type of conditional wishes are irrealis wishes, which signal that the speaker evaluates a particular SoA as desirable, but its potential realization as improbable. An example of such a wish was given in (14) above, repeated here as (21); further examples are given in (22) and (23):

ENGLISH (IC)

(21) *"Hi! Boy!" I shouted, "take the oars, and row."**I might as well have held my tongue, for he could not understand a word; and as I shouted again and again I looked at him despairingly, for he was sitting on the thwart laughing [...]**"Oh, if I could only make him understand!--if I could only make him understand!" I kept thinking, as I shouted again hoarsely; and this time he did seem to comprehend that something was wrong*

(http://www.readbookonline.net/read/41794/88531/, 20/11/2014)

SWEDISH (IC)

- (22)
- Om bara du var här**

COND PRT you be.PST here

'If only you were here

Jag kan inte med ord beskriva vad jag känner för dig.

I can't put into words all I feel for you.'

(http://flickanochskulden.blogspot.be/2011/11/om-bara-du-var-har.html, 02/03/2015)

DANISH (IC)

- (23)
- Hvis jeg bare forstod...*

COND I PRT understand.PST

'If I only understood...'

(http://fruksunderligeverden.blogspot.be/2011/04/hvis-jeg-bare-forstod.html, 21/01/2015)

In (21), the speaker expresses their wish to make someone understand what they are saying. In (22) the speaker wishes for someone to be present, and in (23) the speaker wishes to understand something. Wishes like these have been discussed more extensively than potential wishes, and have been described for English (Stirling 1999: 286; Declerck & Reed 2001: 384; Panther & Thornburg 2003: 137; Adriaensen 2010: 35), Dutch (Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 18), German (Buscha 1976: 275; Weuster 1983: 59; Oppenrieder 1989: 222; Thurmair 1989: 52) and Swedish (Lindström Ms.; Andersson 1982: 72; Telemann, Hellberg & Andersson 2010 vol. 4: 773). In addition, they are also attested in Danish and Icelandic, as is illustrated in (23) above and (25) below. As with potential wishes, most authors do not explicitly distinguish this type from other types of wishes, but use one label for all of them. I will use the label 'irrealis wishes', as is also done by Weuster (1983: 59).

Irrealis wishes express the speaker's wish that a particular SoA is realized, but at the same time indicate that the speaker has some reservations about the realization. This is formally reflected in the obligatory use of a verb form in the past tense: as has also been argued for canonical conditionals with a main clause, the use of a past tense form (or a past subjunctive) in a protasis signals that the speaker has reason to assume that the potential SoA which the construction refers to will probably not be realized (Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 51). This was illustrated for English, Swedish and Danish wishes above; a further example from Dutch is given below. In Icelandic and German irrealis wishes, verb forms in the past subjunctive are used, as illustrated in (25) and (26):²¹

²¹ In English, Swedish and Danish, archaic past subjunctive forms can be used in irrealis wishes, as in (27) below. However, this use of the subjunctive is no longer productive but seems to be limited to specific constructions.

DUTCH (IC)

- (24) *‘Zo doen we het.’ Ida blies in haar koude handen. ‘O, schitterend, zoiets geeks heb ik allang niet meer gedaan!’ zuchtte ze. ‘Een echt avontuur!’*
‘That’s the way we’ll do it.’ Ida warmed her cold hands with her breath.
‘O, great, I haven’t done something this crazy for ages!’ she sighed. ‘A real adventure!’

Als het maar niet zo koud was.’

COND it PRT NEG so cold be.PST

If only it wasn’t so cold.’

Bibberend trok ze haar dikke jas nog wat strakker om zich heen.

Shivering, she pulled her warm coat around her even more closely.’

(Cornelia Funke, *De dievenbende van Scipio*. Querido 2012, accessed via Google books, 20/01/2015)

ICELANDIC (IC)

- (25) *Ef aðeins hann væri hér....*

COND PRT he be.PST.SBJV here

‘If only he were here...’

(<http://www.cafesigrun.com/blogg/2010/10/15/ef-adeins-hann-vaeri-her>, 02/03/2015)

GERMAN (Vallauri 2004: 209)

- (26) *Wenn doch Italien nur ein Stückchen etwas von der*
 COND PRT Italy PRT a piece something of the
deutschen Effizienz hätte!

German efficiency have.PST.SBJV

‘If only Italy had the smallest bit of German efficiency!’

In addition to these typical verb forms, irrealis wishes always have ‘optative’ particles, like English *only* in (21), Swedish *bara* in (22) or *ändå* in (27) below, Danish *bare* in (23), Dutch *maar* in (24) or *toch* in (28) below, Icelandic *aðeins* in (25) and German *doch* or *nur* as in (26).

SWEDISH (IC)

- (27) *Ååååå, om det ändå vore sant!!!*

INTERJ COND DEM PRT be.PST.SBJV true

‘Oh, if only it were true!!!’

(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BJ5V5Qh2ifo>, 27/11/2014)

DUTCH (IC)

- (28) [comment on a picture of a dice with only sixes]

Oh, als dat toch eens zou kunnen hè:

INTERJ COND DEM PRT PRT would be.possible.INF TAG

‘Oh, if only that were possible:

op voorhand weten dat je hoe dan ook zes gaat gooien!

to know in advance that you'll throw a six anyhow!

(https://twitter.com/Freya_NL/status/464408627978444800, 22/10/2014)

Irrealis wishes always refer to an SoA which (the speaker thinks) is not yet true at the moment of speaking. This was clearly the case in the preceding examples, as for instance the boy does not yet understand the speaker in (21), someone is not present yet in (22) and (25), it is cold at the moment of speaking in (24) and Italy is not considered an efficient country in (26). However, although these wishes always signal that the speaker has reason to assume that their wish will not come true, the desired SoA *can* still be realized in the future (see also Stirling 1999: 286), unlike with the counterfactual wishes discussed in the next section. This is explicitly illustrated in (21), where the boy after many failed attempts at communication suddenly *does* understand the speaker, but it also holds for the other examples, as the wished-for person might still turn up, the weather might turn, Italy might become more efficient over time, or something might still turn out to be true.

2.1.3 Counterfactual wishes

A third type of wishes are counterfactual wishes. In constructions like these, the speaker expresses a wish that something had happened at some point in the past, but at the same time indicates that they know this can no longer be realized. This type of wish is illustrated in (15), repeated here as (29), and in (30) and (31):

DANISH (IC)

- (29) *Hvis jeg bare havde vidst det...*

COND I PRT have.PST know.PPART DEM

'If only I'd known...

Henrik Hagen fik en ubehagelig bivirkning efter at have medvirket i forskning.

Henrik Hagen got an uncomfortable side-effect after having participated in the investigation.'

(<http://www.b.dk/danmark/hvis-jeg-bare-havde-vidst-det>, 02/03/2015)

ENGLISH (Stirling 1999: 286)

- (30) *If only Kitty had not done everything without her!*

SWEDISH (IC)

- (31) *Det måste kännas fruktansvärt att förlora sitt barn på det sättet.*

'It must feel terrible to lose one's child in such a way.

Om han bara hade pratat med oss...

COND he PRT have.PST talk.PPART with us

Eller sökt hjälp...

or search.PPART help

If only he had talked to us... Or looked for help...

(<http://www.familjeliv.se/forum/thread/22955710-ar-det-fler-an-jag-som-forlorat-sitt-syskon/5>, 27/10/2014)

In (29) the speaker wishes that they had known something earlier, but the context makes it clear that this was not the case. The same applies to (30) and (31), where the speaker expresses their wish that someone had involved them in their actions, or that their brother had talked to them. Constructions like these have been discussed for English (Quirk et al. 1985: 842; Stirling 1999: 286; Declerck & Reed 2001: 384-385; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 945; Panther & Thornburg 2003: 139) and for Swedish (Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson 2010 vol. 4: 770), but I will show that they are also found in the other languages studied here. Stirling (1999: 286) uses the label 'counterfactual wishes' for constructions like these, a label I will also use here.

The counterfactual semantics of this type of wishes is formally reflected in the obligatory use of what looks like a past perfect verb form, i.e. a combination of a past tense form of an auxiliary verb like *have* or *be* with a past participle. This link between form and meaning is, once again, known from the literature on canonical conditionals, where it has been argued that the use of a past perfect in the protasis signals that the speaker knows that the SoA which the construction refers to was not and can no longer be realized (Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 63). In German and Icelandic, the auxiliary verb occurs in the past subjunctive, as shown in the following examples:

ICELANDIC (IC)

(32) *..ef bara hann hefði áttað sig fyrr...*

COND PRT he have.PST.SBJV realize.PPART REFL sooner

'..If only he had realized sooner...'

(<http://www.hugi.is/smasogur/greinar/366680/laufey-framhald-af-sogunni-vonbrigdi/>, 21/10/2014)

GERMAN (IC)

(33) ***Wenn er doch nur gewusst hätte, was sie dachte.***

COND he PRT PRT know.PPART have.PST.SBJV what she think.PST

'If only he'd known what she thought.'

Warum war es so verdammt kompliziert?

Why was it so damn complicated?

(<http://treknation.net/viewstory.php?sid=35&chapter=5>, 02/03/2015)

Just like the potential and irrealis wishes discussed in the previous sections, counterfactual wishes use ‘optative’ particles, like Swedish *bara* in (31) or *ändå* in (34), English *only* in (30), Danish *bare* in (29), Icelandic *bara* in (32), German *doch* or *nur* in (33), Dutch *maar* in (35) or *toch* in (36):

SWEDISH (IC)

- (34) *Grattis på din stora dag!*

‘Congratulations on your big day!’

Om jag ändå hade vetat när vi sågs.

COND I PRT have.PST know.PPART when we see.PST.PASS

‘If only I’d known when we saw each other.’

(<https://twitter.com/simonstrand/status/443093453699043328>, 03/03/2015)

DUTCH (IC)

- (35) *Als je maar had geluisterd naar Lindsay Lohan en*

COND you PRT have.PST listen.PPART to NAME and

wat positieve energie had uitgestraald.

some positive energy have.PST emanate.PPART

‘If only you’d listened to Lindsay Lohan and had emanated some positive energy.’

(<http://www.demorgen.be/wetenschap/celebs-laten-van-zich-horen-tijdens-sandy-a1525949/>, 22/10/2014)

DUTCH (IC)

- (36) *ga jij draaien op kom schon alter morgen?! Shit!*

‘will you be playing at ‘kom schon alter’ tomorrow?! Shit!’

Als ik dat toch geweten had...

COND I DEM PRT know.PPART have.PST

‘If only I’d known...’

Kan niet missen dat het een geweldig feest wordt als little prosper het goedgekeurd heeft!

No doubt it’ll be a great party if little Prosper has approved of it!’

(<https://www.facebook.com/ProsperRek/photos/a.628877183829193.1073741825.174079772642272/787153761334867/>, 03/03/2015)

All of these constructions signal the speaker’s wish that something had happened in the past which can no longer happen now. Pragmatically, the combination of the features of desirability and counterfactuality produces an additional dimension of regret, which has led some authors to classify counterfactual wishes as ‘hybrids’ of deontic and evaluative meanings. Quirk et al. (1985: 842), for instance, use the label ‘exclamatory wish’ for such constructions, and Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 945) do not regard these constructions as ‘wishes’ at all, but classify them in a separate category as ‘expressions of regret’. In my opinion, however, the primary semantics of counterfactual wishes is that of

‘regular’ uncontrolled constructions, evaluating a particular SoA as desirable and uncontrolled. The additional meaning of regret is not encoded within the construction, but an implicature arising from the counterfactual marking.

2.1.4 Summary

In the previous sections I have discussed three types of wishes that can be distinguished for independent conditional clauses. What they have in common is that they all evaluate a potential SoA as desirable, and signal that the realization of this SoA is neither controlled by one of the discourse participants nor influenced by the speaker’s utterance. This shared semantics is formally reflected in the obligatory use of ‘optative’ particles like English *only*, Dutch *maar* or *toch*, German *nur* or *bloss*, Swedish *bara* or *ändå*, Danish *bare*, and Icelandic *bara* or *aðeins*. When a conditional subordinator is combined with any of these particles, this has a number of semantic consequences. First, this almost automatically leads to a desirability-interpretation, even when the structure refers to an SoA that would in itself be considered undesirable.²² This is illustrated in the following example, where the speaker wishes for someone to die:

ENGLISH (IC)

- (37) *“If only he dies,” says Yuwen impulsively of her invalid husband at one point, instantly shocked at her own thoughts.*

(<http://www.popmatters.com/review/spring-in-a-small-town/>, 27/11/2014)

Second, the use of an ‘optative’ particle in a conditional clause coerces an ‘uncontrolled’ interpretation, even when the clause refers to an SoA that is inherently ‘controllable’. Consider the following example:

²² In English, the combination *if only* can even be used ‘on its own’, i.e. without a following clause, as in the following example:

ENGLISH (IC)

- (2) *Instead of saying if only... be grateful for what you have and use where you are and who you are to do the best you can. ALWAYS.*

(<http://mominmusiccity.com/category/series/personal-posts/>, 20/01/2015)

Here *if only* “functions as a shorthand for a variety of underspecified optative if-clauses” (Adriaensen 2010: 37).

SWEDISH (Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson 2010 vol. 4: 777)

- (38) *Om du bara ville sätta dig ner och vara tyst en liten stund.*
 COND you PRT want.PST sit.INF REFL down and be.INF quiet a
 little while
 'If only you would sit down and be quiet for a while.'

In this example the speaker expresses their wish that the addressee would carry out a particular action, i.e. sit down and be quiet. While it is clear that these are actions that can normally be assumed to be controlled by the addressee, this structure *presents* these actions as if their realization lies beyond the addressee's control, i.e. as if the addressee simply cannot help being lively and noisy. Furthermore, the speaker presents their own role as merely signaling commitment to desirability, but not as influencing the addressee's actions by explicitly telling them what to do. Wishes like (38) can indirectly or pragmatically be used to tell someone what to do, but their primary semantics is still 'uncontrolled' (for a similar argument, see Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson 2010 vol. 4: 777).

Potential, irrealis and counterfactual wishes share the same basic constructional marking, i.e. the combination of a conditional subordinator and an optative particle. Another common property is that they are frequently, though not obligatorily, preceded by interjections like *oh* in (21) and (28), or Swedish *ååå* in (27). What distinguishes the three types of wishes is their verb marking, which signals if the speaker evaluates the potential realization of their wish as possible (present tense), improbable (past tense or past subjunctive) or impossible ('past perfect' tense, possibly with subjunctive). Table 9 presents an overview of the most important findings for uncontrolled deontic constructions.

2.2 Controlled deontic constructions

In this section I discuss constructions like (11) and (12) above, repeated here as (39) and (40):

DANISH (IC)

- (39) *Det er godt nok lidt tid siden jeg har spillet spillet,*
 'It's been a while since I've played this game,
så hvis du kort kan fortælle hvad reglerne er?
 so COND you briefly can.PRS tell.INF what rules be.PRS
 so if you can briefly tell what the rules are?'
 (<http://www.eksperten.dk/spm/140399>, 28/09/2015)

Semantic types	Formal marking						
	Type of marking	Danish	English	Swedish	Dutch	German	Icelandic
Marking common for all types of wishes	Particles	<i>bare</i>	<i>only</i>	<i>bara, ändå</i>	<i>maar, toch</i>	<i>nur, bloss, doch</i>	<i>bara, aðeins</i>
	Other	Frequently preceded by interjections					
Potential: potential realization evaluated as possible	Verbs		Present indicative				
Irrealis: potential realization evaluated as improbable	Verbs	Simple past indicative				Past subjunctive	
Counterfactual: potential realization evaluated as impossible	Verbs	Past tense of auxiliary verb 'have' / 'be' + past participle				Past subjunctive of auxiliary verb 'have' or 'be' + past participle	

Table 9: Constructional properties of uncontrolled deontic conditional constructions.

ENGLISH (IC)

- (40) *Instead of putting our concern into action, we resort to the feeble offering, "If there's anything I can do . . ." We mean, of course, I want to help.*
 (<http://www.triadpublishing.com/helping.shtml>, 20/10/2014)

In (39), the speaker asks the addressee to briefly explain the rules again. In (40) the speaker offers helping the addressee. These two examples illustrate two subcategories that can be distinguished for controlled constructions, depending on whose desires (i.e. the speaker's or the addressee's) the constructions focuses on. 'Speaker-oriented' constructions like (39) refer to a potential SoA which the speaker evaluates as (un)desirable for themselves. These constructions are discussed in Section 2.2.1. 'Addressee-oriented' constructions like (40) refer to SoAs which the speaker assumes are desirable for the addressee. These constructions are discussed further in Section 2.2.2. As far as I know, this distinction has not been made in the literature so far.

2.2.1 Speaker-oriented constructions

In this section I discuss controlled deontic constructions that refer to a potential SoA which the speaker evaluates as (un)desirable for themselves. Within this category, two more subtypes can be distinguished, depending on whether the potential SoA is evaluated as desirable, as in the request in (39) above, or as undesirable, as in the following example:

ICELANDIC (IC)

- (41) *Hvað ert þú eiginlega að gera þarna á grafreitnum okkar?*
 'What are you doing over there on our burial ground?
Ef þú dirfist að snerta hauginn hans afa
 COND you dare.PST.SBJV INFM touch.INF grave his grandfather
míns ...
 mine
If you dare to touch my grandfather's grave...
 (http://timarit.is/view_page_init.jsp?pagelId=4406899, 15/10/2014)

These two types will be discussed in more detail in the two following sections.

2.2.1.1 Requests

In this section I discuss constructions like (39) above, and like (42) and (43) below:

ENGLISH (WordBanks)

- (42) *Ignoring Kevin's histrionic gesture, he said, 'Miss, **if you could just show me the way?**' I led him to the door.*

DUTCH (IC)

- (43) *'Laura?' De blinkend witte tanden van de vrouw komen steeds dichterbij. 'Is er misschien iets wat je wilt?'*

"Laura?" The woman's shining white teeth approach steadily. 'Is there anything you want?'

'Ik, eh...

'I, uh...

*Nou, **als ik misschien even mijn vriendin mag bellen?***

COND I maybe briefly my friend may.PRS call.INF

*Well, **if I could perhaps just call my friend?***

'Natuurlijk. De telefoon ligt waarschijnlijk in de hal.'

'Of course. The phone is probably in the hallway.'

(Elisabeth Gänger, *Een vreemde zomer*. Het Spectrum 2012, accessed via Google Books, 05/11/2014)

In (42) the speaker asks the addressee to show them the way. In (43), the speaker uses a conditional clause to ask for permission to call a friend. While constructions like (42) have received quite a bit of attention in the literature (see further below), constructions like (43) seem to have escaped attention so far. However, in this section I argue that they share the same basic meaning, as they both serve to request something from the addressee which the speaker evaluates as desirable, i.e. an action by the addressee or permission for an action by the speaker. In the following paragraphs, I will subsequently discuss these two types of requests.²³

²³ Some authors (e.g. Stirling 1999: 284) have pointed out that *if* in English requests can be interpreted both as a conditional subordinator (*If you could X [that would be nice]*) or as an interrogative complementizer (*[I wonder] if you could X*). As I briefly indicated in the introduction to the descriptive part, a similar ambiguity is found in other languages, as Swedish *om* can function both as a conditional subordinator and as an interrogative complementizer, and in some Dutch dialects the 'standard' conditional subordinator *als* can also be used as a complementizer. In German, requests can be expressed both with the conditional subordinator *wenn* and the interrogative complementizer *ob* (Weuster 1983: 59). However, since *ob* used to be a conditional subordinator (Auer 2000: 7) it is not entirely clear to what extent this form in requests can be analyzed as a complementizer, or as an archaic remnant of the conditional subordinator. In Danish and Icelandic, however, *if*-requests are introduced by markers which can only signal conditionality, i.e. the conditional subordinators *hvis* and *ef*. Therefore, by analogy with the obviously conditional status of Danish and Icelandic requests, I also analyze requests in the other four languages as conditional.

Let us start with a discussion of constructions with which the speaker requests the addressee to do something, like showing the way or explaining something. Constructions like these have been discussed quite frequently under the label ‘(polite)²⁴ request’ for Dutch (Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 16), Swedish (Lindström Ms.; Laury, Lindholm & Lindström 2013: 245), German (Buscha 1976: 276; Weuster 1983: 59; Thurmair 1989: 53) and English (Stirling 1999: 278; Declerck & Reed 2001: 86; Panther & Thornburg 2003: 133; Panther & Thornburg 2005: 61; Adriaensen 2010: 20; Mato Míguez 2014; Heine, Kaltenböck & Kuteva forthcoming). In this study, I call constructions like (42) ‘requests for action’,²⁵ in order to distinguish them from requests like (43) which will be discussed below. I will show that this type is found in all six languages under investigation.

Requests for action always refer to a potential SoA that is evaluated as desirable, and whose potential realization is presented as being controlled by the addressee. They typically use a number of formal markers that seem to downtone their imposing or directive character. First of all, they usually occur with verbs that refer to some of the preparatory conditions for directive speech acts, like the addressee’s willingness or ability to carry out the requested action. The speaker can refer to the addressee’s ability by using modal verbs like *kan* ‘can, be able to’ in the Danish structure in (39), or *could* in the English example in (42). Reference to the addressee’s willingness is made with modal verbs meaning ‘want to’, like *wollen* in the German structure in (44), or *willen* in the Dutch example in (45):

GERMAN (DGD)

- (44) A: *Und .. es sind ja so gewisse Dinge, die sich ein Deutscher gar nicht vorstellen kann, also etwa, na, ich denke an Autobushaltestellen oder so etwas.*

‘And ... there are certain things, that a German simply can’t imagine, like, well, I’m thinking about bus stops or things like that.

Wenn Sie uns irgend etwas sagen wollen vielleicht

COND you us something say.INF want.PRS.IND maybe

darüber?

on.that

²⁴ I will come back to the ‘polite’ character of requests in Section 2.1.1 in Chapter 4.

²⁵ Some authors (e.g. Stirling 1999; Panther & Thornburg 2003, 2005; Heine, Kaltenböck & Kuteva forthcoming) use several labels to refer to constructions like (42), i.e. not only ‘request’, but also ‘suggestion’ and/or ‘invitation’. These labels are used seemingly interchangeably, as there is no clear discussion of the semantic-constructional differences between the different types. However, since all these ‘requests’, ‘suggestions’ and ‘invitations’ look like instances of the same construction type to me, I will use only one label, i.e. request. In Section 2.2.2.2 I will discuss structures which I will call ‘suggestions’, but their constructional description will show that they are quite different from requests like (42).

If you would perhaps tell us something about that?

B: *Ja, an Autobushaltestellen stellt man sich selbstverständlich an*
 Yes, at bus stops one obviously queues'

DUTCH (CGN)

- (45) A: *'k zeg ja nou ja we zijn toch nog op tijd*
 'I say yes well yes we're still on time, are we?
 [...]
of 't is gewoon dezelfde snelweg
 or it is just the same highway
dus je komt uh
 so you come
je komt d'rlangs
 you come right past it
dus ik als u gr alstublieft langs D D Den Haag Centraal
 COND you please via The Hague Central
wilt rijden graag
 want.PRS drive.INF please
 so I [say] **if you would pass via The Hague Central, please**
- B: *ja*
 yes
- A: *nou oké dat deed ie dan*
 well okay that's what he did'

Sometimes more periphrastic expressions are used to refer to the addressee's willingness, like for instance Icelandic *vera svo væn að* 'be so kind as to' in (46), or its Swedish counterpart *vara så god att* in (47):

ICELANDIC (IC)

- (46) SIGGA: *Ég á enga peninga til að lána þér.*
 'I don't have any money to lend you.
- HANS: *Mér dytti ekki í hug að biðja þig um peninga.*
 I wouldn't think of asking you for money.
- En ef þú vildir vera svo væn að skrifa***
 but COND you want.PST.SBJV be.INF so kind INFM write.INF
upp á skuldabréf fyrir mig.
 up a bond for me
But if you would be so kind to sign a bond for me.'
- (http://www.bokmenntir.is/desktopdefault.aspx/tabid-3397/5787_read-195/categories-1689,1959/rskra-95/, 28/09/2015)

SWEDISH (Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson 2010 vol. 4: 729)

- (47) *Om ni kunde vara så goda och sätta er till bord nu!*
 COND you can.PST be.INF so good and sit.INF REFL to table now
 'If you would be so kind as to come sit around the table now!'

In addition to these typical verbs, requests for action very often use specific particles or adverbs, like markers signaling tentativeness, e.g. German *vielleicht* 'maybe' in (44). Other markers downtone the directive character of these constructions by signaling that the requested action does not take too much time or effort. This is frequently done with particles signaling ease or brevity, like English *just* in (42), or Danish *kort* 'briefly' in (39). Finally, requests are often followed by markers of politeness, like Dutch *graag* 'please' in (45), or English *please* in the following example:

ENGLISH (IC)

- (48) *"If you could shut the door please?" he asked Maia, gesturing to the seat in front of him "And take a seat...?"*.
 (<http://www.myth-weavers.com/showthread.php?t=130463&page=22>,
 28/11/2014)

Since requests for action typically serve to ask the addressee to carry out a particular action, they usually have second person subjects.²⁶

²⁶ In my Swedish data, I have also found examples of constructions which function like requests, but which occur without a verb like *can* or *will*, or the particles typical of requests. An example is given below:

SWEDISH (GSLC)

- (3) [context: end of a medical consultation]
 A: *om du tar på dig och kommer in i nästa rum*
 COND you take.PRS on REFL and come.PRS in in next room
 'if you put on your clothes and come to the next room'
 B: *tack ///*
 thanks ///

Laury, Lindholm & Lindström (2013: 254) label such constructions 'suggestions' and distinguish them from what they call 'requests', i.e. constructions like *om du kan åka å hämta mej då* 'if you can come and pick me up then'. They argue that rather than using verbs like *can* or *will*, constructions like (3) sometimes use the modal verb *skulle* 'should'. I have not found examples of similar constructions in the other five languages under investigation, but further corpus is needed to check this. So far, I am not sure if such constructions should be included in the 'request' category, or require a separate classification. In any case, they do not conform to my use of the label 'suggestion', as will become clear in Section 2.2.2.2.

When a request construction has a first person subject, it does not serve to ask the addressee to carry out a particular action but is used to request permission for the speaker to carry out a particular action themselves. This use was illustrated in (43) above, partly repeated here as (49):

- DUTCH (IC)
- (49) *Nou, **als ik misschien even mijn vriendin mag bellen?***
 COND I maybe briefly my friend may.PRS call.INF
Well, if I could perhaps just call my friend?
 (Elisabeth Gänger, *Een vreemde zomer*. Het Spectrum 2012, accessed via Google Books, 05/11/2014)

In this example, the speaker asks permission to call a friend. Constructions like these seem largely to have escaped attention in the literature so far, but have been described for English (Stirling 1999: 279; Adriaensen 2010: 21), and in my earlier work for all six languages under investigation (D'Hertefelt forthcoming). Following this work, I will call such constructions 'requests for permission'.

Just like requests for action, requests for permission refer to a potential SoA which is evaluated as desirable for the speaker and whose potential realization is controlled by the addressee, since they are the ones to decide if the speaker can do what is requested or not. The conditional clause in (49) serves to ask permission to carry out a specific action, i.e. calling a friend. In many cases, however, requests for permission can also function as a 'disguised' means to ask the addressee to do something, i.e. as indirect requests for action. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- GERMAN (Auer 1996: 315)
- (50) *Wenn ich Sie bitten dürfte, mir das abzunehmen?*
 COND I you ask.INF may.PST.SBJV me.DAT that take.INF
 'If I could ask you to carry this for me?'

- ENGLISH (WordBanks)
- (51) A: *Yes just a minute I'll give you the head's name. It's er Mr MX.*
 B: *Mr MX.*
 A: *Yeah. He's head of R E.*
 B: *Right. **If I can just take your number.***
 A: *[telephone number]*
 B: *Right. Okay. Give me ten minutes.*

- ICELANDIC (IC)
- (52) *Ef **ég mætti kannski spyrja,***
 COND I may.PST.SBJV maybe ask.INF
 'If I could perhaps ask,

B: Yes.

A: *Erm well*

DANISH (IC)

- (55) *Altså, hvis jeg må sige min mening?*

COND I may.PRS say.INF my opinion

'Well, if I may give my opinion?

Hvis jeg var dig, så ville jeg være venner med ham igen!

If I were you, then I would like to be friends with him again!

(<http://www.hestenettet.dk/forum/1/1732284/1732284/>, 06/11/2014)

In cases like these, the conditional clauses do not just express requests but at the same time they also serve to organize the discourse (see also Adriaensen 2010: 25). For instance, when the speaker in (54) asks permission to come back to something that was said before, they simultaneously point out that what they will say next is directly connected to the previous discourse. In this way, such constructions function as a means for the speaker to hold the floor. In addition, requests for permission can also be used to claim the floor. This is illustrated in the following example, where the speaker requests permission to interrupt their addressee:

ENGLISH (WordBanks)

- (56) *'She was living it up with her mother - living it up, that is, by their standards - on the edge of a seedy but not always entirely impoverished seam of Marina society. None of us here was remotely involved in those events.'* **'If I may interrupt for a moment,'** Kenworthy said. *'I do not know the first thing about the girl's mother.'*

Perhaps because of their extra discourse-organizing function, such requests for permission no longer seem to require an explicit response by the addressee. In fact, many of my examples of these constructions come from written text, like the forum-post in (55), where it is by default impossible for the addressee/reader to immediately react to the speaker/writer's request. However, the same applies to spoken discourse, where requests for permission are sometimes used almost 'performatively'. This is illustrated in the following example:

DUTCH (CGN)

- (57) A: *dus de wetenschappelijke vraagstelling ligt uitdrukkelijk bij ons*

'so the scientific presentation of the question is explicitly ours

B: *mm-hu*

uhu

A: *uhm en als ik even mag ingaan op op ja de*
 COND I briefly may.PRS go.into.INF on on yes the
voorstelling van zaken van uh Wim Wennekens
 presentation of affairs of INTERJ NAME
 eh and if I may briefly go into into yes the presentation of affairs by
 Wim Wennekens
uh ja hij zegt een beetje van ja d'r zijn mensen d met uh uh uh uh d met
lef hè die die 't schrijven wat ze willen
 uh yes he says somewhat like yes there's people with uh uh uh with
 guts, right, who who write what they want
en je hebt de wetenschappers met met wat zwakke knietjes die
schrijven wat de bedrijven willen
 and you've got the scientists with with trembling knees who write
 what companies want
dat is denk ik toch niet helemaal een eerlijke voorstelling van zaken
 that I think is not really an honest representation of the matter'

In this example, the speaker asks permission to go into a particular topic, and in their next turns immediately goes on to do this, without awaiting the addressee's explicit permission. The fact that this is the case in many of the examples suggests that neither the speaker nor the addressee thinks a response to the request is necessary anymore.

Requests for permission use many of the same formal markers that I have discussed for requests for action above. They typically feature modal auxiliaries expressing ability, possibility or permission, like *can* in (51) and (54), *may* in (56), and Dutch *mogen* in (49) and (57), Danish *må* in (55), German *dürfen* in (50), Swedish *få* in (53) and Icelandic *mætti* in (52), all meaning 'may'. In addition, they often use markers signaling ease or brevity, e.g. English *for a moment* in (56) or *just* in (51) and (54), Dutch *even* 'just (for a moment)' in (49) and (57), or markers signaling tentativeness, e.g. Dutch *misschien* in (49), and Icelandic *kannski* in (52), both meaning 'maybe'. As argued above, since requests for permission refer to a potential action by the speaker, they always have a first person subject.

2.2.1.2 Threats

In this category I discuss independent conditional clauses that are used to threaten the addressee. An example of such a construction was given in (41) above, repeated here as (58); a further example is given in (59).

- ICELANDIC (IC)
 (58) *Hvað ert þú eiginlega að gera þarna á grafreitnum okkar?*
 'What are you doing over there on our burial ground?

Ef þú dirfist að snerta hauginn hans afa
 COND you dare.PST.SBJV INFM touch.INF grave his grandfather
míns ...
 mine
If you dare to touch my grandfather's grave...
 (http://timarit.is/view_page_init.jsp?pagelId=4406899, 15/10/2014)

DUTCH (IC)
 (59) *Als je nou niet heel snel opflikkert he*
 COND you now NEG very fast disappear.PRS INTERJ
 'If you don't get out of my sight very fast'
 (<http://forum.fok.nl/topic/528676/9/25>, 19/02/2015)

These constructions both refer to a potential SoA (touching a grave, not getting out of the speaker's sight) which is controlled by the addressee and evaluated as undesirable by the speaker. Although such constructions are found in all six languages studied here, they have largely escaped attention in the literature so far, with the exception of a discussion for Dutch (Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 17) and a brief comparative discussion in D'Hertefelt (forthcoming). Both studies use the label 'threats' for structures like (58) and (59). I will adopt this label here.

Within this category, two types of threats can be distinguished. First, constructions like (58) refer to an action which the speaker suspects the addressee wants to or is about to carry out, but which the speaker does not want to happen, like touching the grandfather's grave. This type is attested in all the studied languages. A further example is given in (60), where the speaker suspects that the addressee wants to look at a particular girl again, something they do not want to happen:

SWEDISH (IC)
 (60) *"Vad tror du att hon är? Nån djävla groupie kanske?" Lasse far handläst genom rummet.*
 "What do you think she is? A fucking groupie maybe?" Lasse flies slap-bang through the room.
"Men du kan väl inte locka till dig några groupies!"
 "But you can't attract any groupies!
Om du så mycket som tittar på henne igen...
 COND you so much as look.PRS at her again
If you so much as look at her again..."
Roland rycker upp Lasse från golvet.
 Roland jerks Lasse off the floor.'
 (<http://www.kapitel1.se/eva-hagstrom/rodluvans-bok/kap-4/2#2>, 15/10/2014)

In a second type of threat, which seems less productive and is only attested in Dutch, the construction refers to an SoA in which the addressee does *not* carry

out a particular action which the speaker wants them to carry out. This type was illustrated in (59) above, where the construction refers to a scenario in which the addressee does not get out of the speaker's sight, something which the latter wants to happen.

Both types of threats involve a reversal of polarity. In the first type of threats, i.e. constructions like (58) and (60), the polarity reversal goes from positive to negative polarity, as the construction refers to an action the speaker suspects the addressee will carry out (e.g. looking at a girl again), but is used to communicate that the speaker does *not* want this to happen. In the second type of threats, i.e. constructions like (59), polarity reversal goes in the other direction, as these structures refer to a scenario in which the addressee does *not* carry out a particular action (e.g. getting out of the speaker's sight), but are used to communicate that the speaker wants it to be realized. In general, this polarity reversal can be explained by the fact that constructions like (58) to (60) always imply a non-expressed consequent *q*, which specifies the consequences for the potential realization of the SoA in the protasis *p*. These consequences are controlled by the speaker and will be undesirable for the addressee (Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 17; D'Hertefelt forthcoming), as is illustrated in (61) and (62), where the threat is followed by a main clause:

DANISH (IC)

- (61) *Jepchen, hvis du så meget som én gang til kalder*

NAME COND you so much as one time again call.PRS

Pinball for en nørd,

NAME for a nerd

'Jepchen, **if you just once call Pinball a nerd again,**

så får du ballade med mig.

you'll be in trouble with me.'

(http://www.ratebeer.com/forums/king-pilsner-ny-eller-etiket-til-neptun-pilsner_158406.htm, 16/03/2015)

ENGLISH (IC)

- (62) *Mangle, young man, **if you don't get down right now,** you will get NO ice cream after dinner!*

(<http://steamcommunity.com/sharedfiles/filedetails/?id=354302597>, 16/03/2015)

'Independent' threats like (58) to (60) have been conventionalized to such an extent that they can only evoke consequences that are undesirable to the addressee. This is illustrated in the following examples, which show that it is impossible to reconstruct consequents referring to SoAs that are neutral, or even desirable from the perspective the addressee:

- (63) # ***If you dare to touch my grandfather's grave,** [I'll leave you in peace].*

(64) # *If you don't get out of my sight right away, [I'll reward you].*

The polarity reversal which is typical of threats can thus be explained by the fact that the potential realization of the action in *p* is conventionally interpreted as leading to an undesirable consequence *q*. If the addressee wants to avoid *q*, they thus need to refrain from realizing the action in *p*.

The two types of threats share a number of typical properties. Both types typically have second person subjects, and seem to have 'elliptical' intonation, i.e. their intonation seems to suggest that a main clause is expected to follow (Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 17). Furthermore, threats always refer to controllable SoAs, i.e. to actions or events which the speaker believes are controlled by the addressee. When a threat refers to an action that is not normally be considered as controllable, like for instance sneezing, the construction coerces a controllable reading on this action. This is illustrated in the following examples:

DUTCH (C)

(65) *Als ge nog één keer niest he!*
 COND you PRT one time sneeze.PRS INTERJ
 'If you sneeze once more...!'

DUTCH (C)

(66) *Als ge nu niet stopt met niezen!*
 COND you now NEG stop.PRS with sneeze.INF
 'If you don't stop sneezing now!'

In addition to these shared characteristics, there are also a number of formal features that can be used to distinguish between the two types. Threats of the first type, like (58), (60) and (65) are always scalar, in the sense that they evoke an *ad hoc* scale of undesirability. The SoA in the conditional clause forms the lower limit for what is undesirable, and is implicitly compared to actions higher on the scale which are considered even worse. For instance, in (60), 'looking at her' is considered as the lower limit for what is undesirable, and is implicitly compared to higher actions like 'talking to her' or 'touching her' which are even more undesirable. This scalarity can be expressed in two ways. One way is with explicitly scalar expressions like Swedish *så mycket som* 'as much as' in example (60) above, or German *nur* or Dutch *zelfs maar* in (68) and (69) below. Another means to signal scalarity is with the use of action-initiating verbs like *dare to*, which indicate that even beginning to carry out the action which the conditional clause refers to is dangerous. This is illustrated in (58) above, and in (67) below:

ENGLISH (IC)

- (67) *I love to eat, can't you tell ;p and oh boy, **if you dare touch my food** ^-^, not pretty :D*
 (<http://personalitycafe.com/enfp-forum-inspirers/64041-how-do-you-motivate-yourself-3.html>, 15/10/2014)

GERMAN (IC)

- (68) *Xiumin!!! **Wenn du es wagst sie nur anzurühren!!***
 NAME COND you it dare.PRS.IND her PRT touch.INF
 'Xiumin!! **If you dare to even touch her!!**
Ich schwöre dir, dann werde ich dich mal in einen Eisblock verwandeln, dass du mal wieder ein bisschen abkühlst!!!
 I swear, I'll turn you into an ice block, so that you cool off a bit!
 (<http://www.wattpad.com/102543263-time-a-gift-from-heaven-the-other-members/page/2>, 16/03/2015)

DUTCH (IC)

- (69) ***"Als je het zelfs maar waagt om haar van me af te nemen."***
 COND you it even PRT dare.PRS to her of me off INFM
 take.INF
"If you even dare to take her away from me."
Een pistool kwam langzaam omhoog en werd tegen Tom's slaap gezet. "Ik ga nog liever dood dan zonder haar te leven."
 A pistol was slowly raised and put against Tom's temple. "I'd rather die than live without her."
 (<http://www.quizlet.nl/chapters/88922/i-never-thought-id-be-in-love-like-this--47/>, 15/10/2014)

The second type of threat is not scalar, but obligatorily contains a negator, as illustrated in (59) above, repeated here as (70):

DUTCH (IC)

- (70) *Als je nou niet heel snel opflikkert he*
 COND you now NEG very fast disappear.PRS INTERJ
 'If you don't get out of my sight very fast'
 (<http://forum.fok.nl/topic/528676/9/25>, 19/02/2015)

This type of threat is much less frequent than the scalar threat, as I have only found a handful of Dutch examples without a main clause. However, I have found many examples with an explicit main clause, as in (62) above and in the following example from Swedish:

SWEDISH (IC)

(71) **"Om du inte slutar slå Olle**

COND you NEG stop.PRS hit.INF NAME

"If you don't stop hitting Olle*får du inget lördagsgodis", säger du strängt till ditt barn.**you won't get any sweets on Sunday", you sternly tell your child.'**(http://tusentips.se/tag/konsekvenser/, 16/03/2015)*

Further corpus research is needed to check to what extent independent threats like (70) are also found in the other languages studied here.

2.2.2 Addressee-oriented constructions

This section investigates independent conditional clauses that refer to an action which the speaker evaluates as desirable for the addressee. This type was illustrated in (40) above, repeated here as (72); a further example is given in (73):

ENGLISH (IC)

(72) *Instead of putting our concern into action, we resort to the feeble offering,****"If there's anything I can do . . ." We mean, of course, I want to help.****(http://www.triadpublishing.com/helping.shtml, 20/10/2014)*

DUTCH (IC)

(73) A: *Hey!**'Hi!**We moeten een affiche naar de drukker sturen, maar nu blijkt dat de resolutie van onze afbeelding te klein is. Iemand een idee hoe ge die kunt vergroten zonder kwaliteit te verliezen?**We have to send a poster to the printer, but now it turns out that the resolution of our image is too low. Does anyone know who we can fix this without loss of quality?*B: ***Als je dat nu eens aan diene drukker zelf vraagt?***

COND you DEM PRT PRT to that printer himself ask.PRS

(What) if you ask the printer himself?*Wedden dat die dat op 5 min heeft gefikst?**I bet he'll have it fixed in 5 minutes.'**(http://www.noxa.net/topic/786151738/_Resolutie_verhogen/-Resolutie-verhogen-, 22/10/2014)*

In (72), the conditional clause signals the speaker's willingness to do something which they think is desirable for the addressee, i.e. helping them. In (73) the conditional clause functions as a suggestion for the addressee to do something which the speaker thinks might be good for them, i.e. asking the printer for help.

These two constructions are examples of two subtypes of addressee-oriented constructions. Conditional clauses like (72) will be labeled ‘offers’ and are discussed in more detail in Section 2.2.2.1. Constructions like (73) will be labeled ‘suggestions’, and are discussed in Section 2.2.2.2.

2.2.2.1 Offers

In this section I discuss constructions with which the speaker offers something to the addressee. These constructions refer either to the addressee’s assumed need for a particular action, or to the speaker’s ability to carry out such an action for the addressee. This type was illustrated in (72) above, and in the following example:

DUTCH (CGN)

- (74) A: *dan gaat de van 't weekend niet werken aan uw huis of*
 ‘then you won’t work in your house this weekend or
 B: *jawel wij gaan nog wat uh ik gaan de dan wat afvoeren en zo leggen*
 yes we are going to eh I am going to install some drains and so on
 A: *ah ja ja*
 ah yes yes
 B: *ja maar da 's uh ja maar goh maar 't is eigenlijk meer meten en passen*
 yes but that’s eh yes but well but we’ll actually be measuring and
 fitting
 A: ***maar als ge hulp kunt gebruiken of***
 but COND you help can.PRS use.INF or
 but if you can use some help or
 B: *'k moet nog wat naar de winkel gaan nog wat gaan halen dus*
 I have to go to the store and get some stuff so
 A: *ja ja*
 yes yes’

SWEDISH (IC)

- (75) *Blev medlem här för att känna på branschens puls.*
 ‘I became a member here to get to know the trade’s pulse.
 Dessutom om jag kan hjälpa med något tips eller råd,
 COND I can.PRS help.INF with some tips or advice
 Moreover **if I can help with hints or advice,**
 visst gärna!
 [I would do so] gladly!’
 (<http://forum.studio.se/index.php/topic/36398-my-ladies-and-gentlemans/>,
 20/10/2014)

The construction in (74) refers to the addressee's assumed need to get some help with the renovation of their house. In (75), the construction refers to the speaker's ability to do something for the addressee, i.e. help them with hints and advice. The specific action these constructions refer to is evaluated as desirable for the addressee, and what these constructions communicate is that the speaker would be willing to meet the addressee's assumed need for this action. Constructions like (72), (74) and (75) have been discussed for English (Panther & Thornburg 2003: 135; Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 264), Dutch (Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 17) and German (Buscha 1976: 276). Buscha and Dancygier & Sweetser label such constructions 'question sentences' and 'trail off-constructions' respectively, but the other authors call these constructions 'offers'.²⁷ I will adopt this label here. I have only found offers in English, Dutch, Swedish and German, but not in Danish and Icelandic.

Offers conventionally invoke a non-expressed consequent clause that either encourages the addressee to ask the speaker to do something for them, or that explicitly signals the speaker's willingness to meet the addressee's wish. This was partly illustrated in (75) above, where the offer is followed by an 'elliptical' consequent *visst gärna!* 'gladly of course!' which signals the speaker's willingness to help the addressee. Another example of an offer with an explicit main clause is given in (76), where the speaker encourages the addressee to get in touch if they need something:

GERMAN (IC)

- (76) **Wenn Sie weitere Informationen benötigen oder Fragen**
 COND you further informations need.PRS.IND or questions
haben,
 have.PRS.IND
'If you need further information or have questions,
rufen Sie uns unter der Telefonnummer [XXX] an, oder senden Sie eine E-Mail an [XXX].
 please call [phone number], or send an email to [email address].'
 (http://www.symantec.com/de/de/products-solutions/training/theme.jsp?themeid=training_credits, 24/03/2015)

The conventionalization of such implied consequent clauses for independent offers like (72), (74) and (75) has advanced to such an extent that no other types

²⁷ Declerck & Reed (2001: 386) give an example of a construction which is very similar to the constructions in (72), (74) and (75), i.e. *If you want just a quick look inside*, but call this construction a 'request'. In terms of my analysis, however, this construction does not conform to the description of requests given in Section 2.2.1.1, as it does not refer to a potential SoA which the speaker evaluates as desirable for themselves, but rather to a potential SoA which the speaker assumes might be desirable for the addressee. On the basis of my criteria, I analyze this example as an offer.

of main clauses can be reconstructed. This has also been argued by Panther & Thornburg (2003: 137), who illustrate the ‘non-cancellability’ of the offer interpretation in the following example:

ENGLISH (Panther & Thornburg 2003: 137)

(77) # *If you would like a cookie... but I’m not offering you one.*

As with the threats discussed in the previous section, offers usually seem to occur with ‘elliptical’ intonation, which suggests that a consequent clause will follow. In addition, they typically use expressions which refer to the addressee’s potential wish or need, like Dutch *kunnen gebruiken* ‘can use’ in (75) above, *like* in (77), or German *mögen* ‘want’ in (78), or they rely on expressions that refer to the speaker’s ability to help, like *can* in (72), or Swedish *kunna* ‘can’ in (74).

GERMAN (Buscha 1976: 276)

(78) *Wenn Sie sich vielleicht die Hände waschen möchten?*
COND you REFL maybe the hands wash.INF like.PST.SBJV
‘If you would perhaps like to wash your hands?’

2.2.2.2 Suggestions

In this section I discuss independent conditional clauses like (73) above, repeated here as (79), and (80):

DUTCH (IC)

(79) A: *Hey!*

‘Hi!

We moeten een affiche naar de drukker sturen, maar nu blijkt dat de resolutie van onze afbeelding te klein is. Iemand een idee hoe ge die kunt vergroten zonder kwaliteit te verliezen?

We have to send a poster to the printer, but now it turns out that the resolution of our image is too low. Does anyone know who we can fix this without quality loss?

B: *Als je dat nu eens aan diene drukker zelf vraagt?*

COND you DEM PRT PRT to that printer himself ask.PRS

(What) if you ask the printer himself?

Wedden dat die dat op 5 min heeft gefikst?

I bet he’ll have it fixed in 5 minutes.’

(http://www.noxa.net/topic/786151738/_Resolutie_verhogen/-Resolutie-verhogen-, 22/10/2014)

DUTCH (CGN)

- (80) A: *ggg zeg Anske weet gij wat ggg*
 ‘ggg say Anske do you know what ggg
 [...]
 B: *zeg uh keer*
 tell me
 A: ***als ik nu eens dichtleg en u weer opbel***
 COND I PRT PRT put.down.PRS and you again call.PRS
 (what) if I put down the phone and call you again
 B: *ja*
 yes’

In (79) the speaker suggests to the addressee that they ask the printer for help; in (80) the speaker suggests to put down the phone and then call the addressee again. Constructions like these have only been discussed for Dutch by Boogaart & Verheij (2013: 16), who call them ‘advice’ or ‘suggestions’. In this study I will adopt the latter label. I have only found these constructions in Dutch so far.²⁸

Suggestions are constructions which refer to an action which the speaker assumes is desirable for the addressee (see also Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 16). The previous examples illustrate that this can either be an action by the addressee, as in (79), or an action by the speaker, as in (80). In addition, suggestions can also refer to a joint action by the speaker and the addressee, as in the following example:

DUTCH (IC)

- (81) *“Hey ik heb een fantastisch idee,*
 ‘Hey, I’ve got a great idea,
 als we vanavond nu eens een kampvuur maken.
 COND we tonight PRT PRT a campfire make.PRS
 (what) if we build a campfire tonight.
Lekker gezellig, een echte vriendschapssfeer [...]” Stelde Carlos voor. Het leek me wel gezellig. “Gaat niet, Mikaela moet optijd [sic] thuis zijn.” Antwoordde James. Ik bekeek hem en schudde mn hoofd “Nee hoor, Kendall heeft geregeld met mn moeder dat ik tot vrijdag bij hem slaap.” [...] “Kampvuur word [sic] het dan.” Juichtte [sic] Logan.
 Really cozy, a real atmosphere of friendship [...]” Carlos proposed. Seemed like a nice idea to me. “That won’t work, Mikaela has to be home in time,” James responded. I looked at him and shook my head. “No that’s alright, Kendall has arranged with my mother I’ll be sleeping over at his place until Friday.” [...] “Campfire it is, then!” Logan cheered.’

²⁸ In my earlier discussion of requests in Section 2.2.1.1 I have shown that many authors use the label ‘suggestion’ for structures which I analyze as requests.

(http://www.quizlet.nl/chapters/912337/is-this-forever/kies%20een%20hoofdstuk...?show_mobile=1, 25/03/2015)

In all these examples, the speaker proposes an action which they think might be desirable for the addressee, but leaves it to the addressee to decide if this action will indeed be realized or not. This is illustrated in (80), where the speaker proposes calling the addressee again, and the addressee in their next turn indicates that they think this is a good idea. The same applies to (81), where the speaker suggests building a campfire, but only goes on to do this after the addressees have agreed with this suggestion.

In some cases, suggestions for joint action can also be used to suggest undertaking a 'discursive' action. This is illustrated in the following example:

DUTCH (IC)

- (82) *Het internet is ook geen vrijplaats of een eiland waarop de wetten van de samenleving niet zouden gelden.*

'Neither is the Internet a refuge or an island where the laws of society would not hold.

Als we nu eens kijken naar ACTA.

COND we PRT PRT look.PRS to NAME

Let's take a look at ACTA. [lit.: If we take a look at ACTA.]

ACTA is een plan of voorstel voor een geheel van wetten en internationale afspraken rond auteursrechten en patenten.

ACTA is a plan or proposal for an entity of laws and international agreements about copyright and patents.'

(<http://www.dewereldmorgen.be/artikels/2012/04/25/internet-en-vrijheid-rechten-moeten-permanent-worden-afgedwongen>, 30/01/2015)

As was the case for some requests for permission discussed in Section 2.2.1.1, this suggestion functions almost performatively, as the speaker suggests considering a particular discourse topic and then immediately goes on to do this, by further explaining what ACTA is. Since this is an example taken from a written blog post, the speaker/writer cannot await the addressee/reader's response to this suggestion.

All of these 'suggestion' structures obligatorily seem to occur with a combination of the particles *nu* and *eens*. Depending on who is to carry out the suggested action, they can use either a first or a second person subject.

2.2.3 Summary

In the preceding sections I have discussed four different types of controlled deontic conditional clauses. All of these types refer to a potential SoA that is evaluated in terms of desirability, and whose realization is presented as being

controlled by one of the discourse participants. Two major subcategories could be distinguished, depending on if the SoA is evaluated as (un)desirable for the speaker or for the addressee. In Section 2.2.1, I discussed two types of ‘speaker-oriented’ constructions, i.e. requests, which evaluate a potential SoA as desirable for the speaker, and threats, which evaluate a potential SoA as undesirable for the speaker. In Section 2.2.2, I discussed two types of ‘addressee-oriented’ constructions, i.e. offers and suggestions. Offers refer to the addressee’s need for or the speaker’s willingness to carry out an action that is assumed to be desirable for the addressee. Suggestions directly refer to such an assumedly desirable action. I showed that requests and threats are attested in all languages under investigation, but that offers and suggestions have a more restricted distribution. In Table 10, I summarize the most important findings for the controlled deontic constructions.

3 Evaluative constructions

In addition to expressing deontic meanings, independent conditional clauses can also express evaluation. More specifically, they can be used to evaluate a particular SoA as remarkable, negative or absurd. This type was illustrated in (2) and (5) above, which will be repeated below; further examples are given in (83) to (85):

DUTCH (IC)

- (83) *PS: Nu nog meer bewondering gekregen voor die veldrijders =D> . Da zijn geen gewone bultjes op parcours superprestige zulle :-? .*

‘PS: Now I admire these cyclo-cross riders even more [smiley]. Those bumps on the ‘superprestige’ track are not normal ones [smiley].

Amai als ge daar een uur op moet crossen #-o .

INTERJ COND you there an hour on must.PRS cross.INF

Wow if you have to ride on that track for an hour [smiley].’

(<http://forum.mountainbike.be/viewtopic.php?p=598985>, 12/08/2014)

DUTCH (IC)

- (84) *leeuw water drinken!*

‘Ugh, drinking water!

Als ik daar nu alleen al aan denk!

COND I there now only PRT about think.PRS

Even thinking about it is awful! [lit.: If I just think about it now!]

Semantic types			Formal marking						
			Type of marking	Dutch	English	German	Swedish	Danish	Icelandic
Speaker-oriented: speaker evaluates SoA as (un)desirable for themselves	Requests: SoA evaluated as desirable	for action	Subject	2 nd person					
			Verbs (ability or willingness)	<i>willen, kunnen</i>	<i>want to, like to, can</i>	<i>wollen, können</i>	<i>vilja, vara så god att, kunna</i>	<i>ville, kunne</i>	<i>vera svo væn að</i>
		for permission	Subject	1 st person					
			Verbs (ability or permission)	<i>kunnen, mogen</i>	<i>can, may</i>	<i>können, dürfen</i>	<i>kunna, få</i>	<i>kunne, må</i>	<i>mætti</i>
		Marking common for both types of requests	Particles (tentativeness, ease or brevity)	<i>misschien, even</i>	<i>maybe, just</i>	<i>vielleicht</i>	<i>kanske</i>	<i>måske, kort</i>	<i>kannski</i>
			Other	Markers like <i>please</i> , Dutch <i>graag</i>					
	Threats: SoA evaluated as undesirable	Positive → negative polarity	Particles (scalarity)	<i>zelfs maar</i>	<i>so much as, even</i>	<i>sogar</i>	<i>så mycket som</i>	<i>så meget som</i>	<i>svo mikið sem</i>
			Verbs (action-initiating)	<i>durven, wagen</i>	<i>dare to</i>	<i>wagen</i>	<i>våga</i>	<i>turde</i>	<i>dirfast</i>
		Negative → positive polarity	Other	Negation					
		Marking common for both types of threats	Subject	2 nd person					
			Other	'Elliptical' intonation					

Semantic types		Formal marking						
		Type of marking	Dutch	English	German	Swedish	Danish	Icelandic
Addressee-oriented: speaker evaluates potential SoA as desirable for addressee	Offers	Other	Expressions referring to either addressee's desire, want or need, or speaker's willingness or ability to do something for addressee					
	Suggestions	Particles	<i>nu + eens</i>					
		Subject	1 st or 2 nd person (sg. or pl.)					

Table 10: Constructional properties of controlled deontic conditional constructions.

:haha: Maar vooral na t poetsen vind ik dat überhaupt heel goor hahaha. Ik heb ff zitten googlen. Heel veel vrouwen schijnen hier last van te hebben tijdens zwangerschap.

Haha. But especially after brushing [my teeth] I find it disgusting hahaha. I've been googling a little. Apparently many women have problems with this during their pregnancy.'

(<http://forums.marokko.nl/archive/index.php/t-4350121-pas-gestopt-met-de-pil-p-323.html>, 16/03/2015)

ENGLISH (IC; partly cited in Stirling 1999: 277)

- (85) OLIVE (*Slapping her cards down and rising angrily*). Look, what are you tryin to do? Make out I'm a liar or somethin'? (PEARL ceases to wind, surprised.)

PEARL. I didn't say a liar....

OLIVE. Then don't say anything 'coz that's what it sounds like.

PEARL (*Disdainfully*). I was only tellin' you how the whole thing looked to me. **If a person can't pass an opinion...**

OLIVE. You pass too many damned opinions, that's your trouble.

(<http://tera-3.ul.cs.cmu.edu/NASD/d23d381a-642a-4cb1-bd42-5373f518ed1d/lemur/3505.sgml>, 17/03/2015)

In (83), the speaker evaluates the prospect of racing on a particular track as remarkable. In (84), thinking about drinking water is evaluated very negatively, and in (85) the conditional clause is used to evaluate a given fact ('apparently one can't even pass an opinion') as absurd.

Where do the evaluative meanings in these examples come from? Like the 'unexpected' evaluative complement clauses discussed in the previous chapter, evaluative conditional clauses are scalar, in the sense that they evoke a scale on which the evaluated SoA is placed relative to some contextually relevant alternatives. However, not all evaluative structures evoke the same type of scale. In constructions like (83), the evaluated SoA (having to race on a very bumpy track) exceeds the speaker's expectations because it is implicitly compared to more likely SoAs which are located lower on the scale. In structures like (84), the evaluated SoA is considered the lower limit for what the speaker thinks is negative or bad ('even thinking about drinking water makes me sick'), and alternatives located higher on the scale (e.g. actually drinking it) are considered even worse. Finally, in structures like (85), the evaluated SoA is implicitly compared to two sets of alternatives, which are located lower and higher on the scale respectively, and is considered by the speaker as a wrong cut-off point between these two alternatives. In the following subsections, I will discuss these three types of evaluatives in more detail. In general, evaluative structures have not received much attention in the literature, but some types have been discussed to some extent. When this is the case, they have typically received labels like 'exclamatives' or 'expressives', but in this study I adopt the label 'evaluative'.

In this type of evaluatives, scalarity is often implicit, signaled for instance with contrastive focus on a particular element. This is the case in the previous example, where contrastive focus on *hiermee* ‘with this’ evokes an *ad hoc* scale of cars in which one can learn to drive. While learning how to drive with less special cars is not remarkable, learning how to drive in this particular Suzuki exceeds the speaker’s expectations. Schematically, the scale that is evoked here can be represented as follows:

Scale: cars in which one can learn to drive

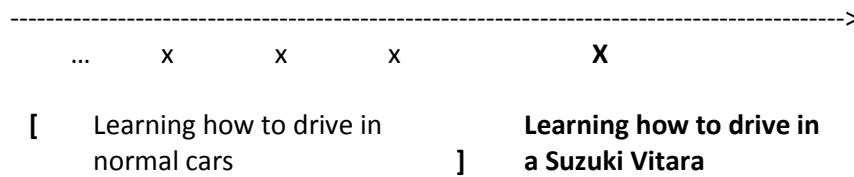


Figure 2: Scale for example (86).

In the previous example, the focused SoA is evaluated positively. Remarkable evaluatives can also be used to evaluate a particular SoA negatively, as was illustrated in (83) above, repeated below:

- DUTCH (IC)
- (87) PS: *Nu nog meer bewondering gekregen voor die veldrijders =D> . Da zijn geen gewone bultjes op parcours superprestige zulle :-? .*
 ‘PS: Now I admire these cyclo-cross riders even more [smiley]. Those bumps on the ‘superprestige’ track are not normal ones [smiley].
Amai als ge daar een uur op moet crossen #-o .
 INTERJ COND you there an hour on must.PRS cross.INF
Wow if you have to ride on that track for an hour [smiley].’
 (<http://forum.mountainbike.be/viewtopic.php?p=598985>, 12/08/2014)

Again, no explicit scalar marking is present, but contrastive focus on *daar* ‘there’ evokes an *ad hoc* scale of potential racing circuits, with this particular track exceeding the limits of what is considered a ‘normal’ track.

Just like with unexpected complement evaluatives, there are no formal grounds to predict whether a particular remarkable evaluative entails positive or negative evaluation. The (implied) scalar marking signals that the SoA which the structure refers to is remarkable, but whether this is in a positive or in a negative sense depends on contextual clues. Consider the following examples:

- ENGLISH (IC)
- (88) [comment on a forum post in which someone mentions that a particular band might play a surprise gig]

oh my god if that happens... I don't even know. I'll be so happy and sad at the same time!

(<http://thestrokesnews.com/amanda-de-cadenet-nick-valensi-went-to-work-today-on-album-no-5/>, 12/11/2014)

GERMAN (Günthner 1999: 29)

- (89) *Wenn des de Vadder wüßst!*
 COND DEM the father know.PST.SBJV
 'If Father would know this!'

In (88), the scale that is evoked is one of possible actions by a particular band. The possibility of a surprise gig would exceed the speaker's expectations, but the next utterance makes it clear that even the speaker at the moment of speaking does not know if this would be something which they consider good or bad. The same applies to (89), where the speaker evaluates the possibility of their father knowing something as remarkable, but the context would need to make clear if this possibility is evaluated positively or negatively.

3.2 Lower-limit evaluatives

In this section, I discuss constructions like (84), and like (5) above, repeated here as (90):

GERMAN (Pasch et al. 2003: 400)

- (90) *Da komt Peter.*
 'There comes Peter.
Wenn ich den schon SEhe.
 COND I him PRT see.PRS.IND
 Ugh, **just seeing him makes me sick** [lit.: If I just sEE him.]

In this example, 'seeing Peter' is evaluated negatively, and implicitly compared to even worse alternatives. With the exception of a brief discussion by Pasch et al. (2003: 400) and Thurmair (1989: 53) for German, constructions like these seem to have escaped attention in the literature. So far, I have found very few unambiguous examples of this type of evaluatives, and only in German or Dutch. In this study, I will use the label 'lower-limit evaluatives' for constructions like (90), because this best captures their semantics and helps to distinguish them from the other types of evaluatives discussed in Sections 3.1 and 3.3.

Lower-limit evaluatives are constructions which refer to a particular SoA that is regarded as the lower limit for a particular negative evaluation, signaling that implicit alternatives which are located higher on the scale are considered even

worse.²⁹ Schematically, the scale that is evoked in these structures is a scale of ‘unlikeability’ (see Nuyts 2005, 2006), which can be represented as follows:

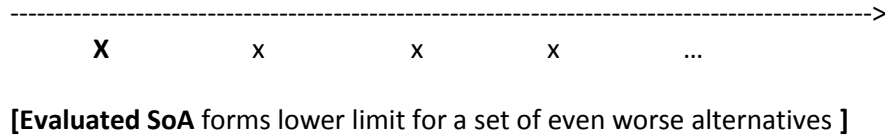


Figure 3: Scale for lower-limit evaluatives.

In this type of evaluatives, scalarity is typically signaled with explicit scalar markers and contrastive focus on the verb. This is illustrated in (90) above, which features an overt scalar marker *schon* ‘already’, in combination with contrastive focus on the verb *sehen* ‘see’. The scale invoked in this example is one of possible interactions with a particular person, and the evaluated SoA (*seeing him*) constitutes the lower limit for what the speaker thinks are unpleasant interactions. This SoA is implicitly compared to alternatives located higher on the scale (e.g. *talking to him* or *spending time with him*) which are considered even worse. The scale which this structure evokes is represented in the following example:

Scale: possible interactions with Peter

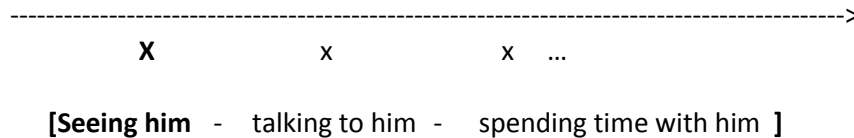


Figure 4: Scale for example (90).

Another example of a lower-limit evaluative was given in (84), partly repeated below:

- DUTCH (IC)
- (91) *leeuw water drinken!*
 ‘Ugh, drinking water!’

²⁹ While it does not seem impossible to me to use this type of evaluative to evaluate a particular SoA as the lower limit for a positive evaluation, I have not found any examples that confirm this intuition. Further (corpus) research is needed to investigate the full potential of these structures.

Als ik daar nu alleen al aan denk!

COND I there now only PRT about think.PRS

Even thinking about it is awful. [lit.: If I just think about it now!]

(<http://forums.marokko.nl/archive/index.php/t-4350121-pas-gestopt-met-de-pil-p-323.html>, 16/03/2015)

In this example it is the combination *alleen al* ‘just’ together with contrastive focus on the verb *denken* ‘think’ which is responsible for the scale that is evoked. Thinking about drinking water is the lower limit for the speaker’s unease, so more ‘engaging’ interactions with water, like actually drinking it, are even more likely to lead to aversion.

3.3 Absurd evaluatives

In this section I discuss a third type of evaluative constructions, with which the speaker evaluates something as absurd. An example of this type was given in (85) above, partly repeated here as (92):

ENGLISH (IC; partly cited in Stirling 1999: 277)

(92) *PEARL (Disdainfully). I was only tellin’ you how the whole thing looked to me. **If a person can’t pass an opinion...***

OLIVE. You pass too many damned opinions, that’s your trouble.

(<http://tera-3.ul.cs.cmu.edu/NASD/d23d381a-642a-4cb1-bd42-5373f518ed1d/lemur/3505.sgml>, 17/03/2015)

In this example, the speaker evaluates a given SoA, i.e. the fact that apparently passing an opinion is not allowed anymore, as absurd. I have found examples of this type of evaluatives in English and Dutch, but not in the other languages under investigation. With the exception of a discussion for Dutch in our own earlier work (Verstraete & D’Hertefelt 2014: 648), constructions like (92) seem to have escaped attention so far.³⁰ In this study, I will label these evaluatives ‘absurd’.

Absurd evaluatives evoke an *ad hoc* scale on which two gradable sets of alternatives are placed. The focused SoA is evaluated as absurd because it forms a wrong cut-off point between these two contrasting sets. More specifically, the evaluated SoA refers to something which is apparently included in one set, while the speaker thinks it belongs in the opposite set. Let us illustrate this for the

³⁰ Stirling (1999: 277), who provided example (92), classifies this example as an “incomplete” utterance, i.e. an utterance in which “the speaker stops not because he/she expects the hearer to supply the missing words, but for circumstantial reasons such as speaker reformulation of the utterance in progress, or interruption by the other discourse participant”. However, in the following paragraphs I will show that these structures have a conventionalized meaning and are instances of a more general construction type.

example that was given above. In the conditional clause in (92), the two opposing sets evoked are things which are *not* allowed on the one hand, and things which *are* allowed on the other hand. Apparently, ‘passing an opinion’ has been included in the first set, while the speaker thinks it belongs in the second one. If passing an opinion is included in the first set, along with more likely alternatives of things which are prohibited, the second set becomes too small, as the speaker wonders what things *are* still allowed. Schematically, this can be represented as follows:

Scale: actions that can be allowed or disallowed.

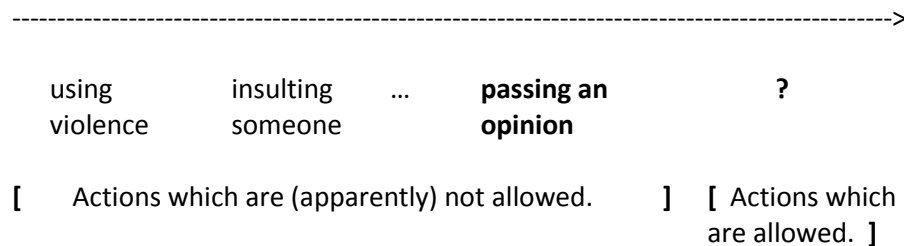


Figure 5: Scale for example (92).

In absurd evaluatives, scalarity can but need not always be marked explicitly. In (92) no scalar markers are present but a marker like *even* can easily be added (*if a person can't even pass an opinion*). In the following example from Dutch, scalarity is marked explicitly with the particle *al* ‘even’:

DUTCH (IC)

- (93) [comment on the fact that a football supporter was denied access to his club's stadium, after having made shawls that provoked a rivalling club]
echt belachelijk!!

‘really ridiculous!!

Als dat al niet meer kan!

COND DEM PRT NEG anymore be.allowed.PRS

If even that is not allowed anymore!

(<http://www.twenteinsite.nl/clubman-gae-krijgt-stadionverbod-na-provocaties-richting-fc-twente.html>, 17/03/2015)

In this construction, the speaker indicates their disagreement with the fact that even making provocative shawls is apparently not allowed anymore (this evaluation is further strengthened by the preceding qualification *really ridiculous!*). The fact that this is not allowed surpasses the speaker's expectations of what is prohibited, and makes them wonder what *would* be allowed.

Absurd evaluatives indicate that the speaker does not agree with a particular SoA (e.g. ‘this is not allowed’) but rather thinks the opposite should be the case (e.g. ‘this should be allowed’). In this sense, they involve polarity reversal.

According to Verstraete & D'Hertefelt (2014: 648 for Dutch), this is due to a variant of *reductio ad absurdum*. More specifically, constructions like (92) and (93) imply a consequent clause which is either absurd or unacceptable. This is illustrated in the standard conditional structure (with a main clause) in (94):

DUTCH (IC)

- (94) [comment on the announcement that an amusement park is planning on building a water-spectacle, an idea which some people claim was 'stolen' from another amusement park]

Het is gewoon een leuke extra toevoeging aan het gebied.

'It's just a nice extra addition to the park.

Als dat ook al niet meer mag

COND DEM also PRT NEG anymore be.allowed.PRS

If even that isn't allowed anymore

dan kun je de hele pretparkbusiness wel opdoeken, want alles is toch al wel ergens gebouwd.

you can shut down the whole amusement park business, because everything has been built somewhere before.'

(<http://www.loopings.nl/weblog/1785/Toverland-bouwt-Aquanura.html>, 17/03/2015)

In this example, the consequence is clearly over-generalizing and thus unacceptable. According to the idea of *reductio ad absurdum*, because the implied consequent for constructions like these is unacceptable, the premise which leads to this consequent (i.e. the content of the conditional clause) is also considered unacceptable.

In some cases, absurd evaluatives are used to evaluate assumedly given evaluations. This is illustrated in (95), where the speaker expresses their surprise that a particular way of dressing is apparently considered pretty:

DUTCH (IC)

- (95) *Veel te strakke broek en – alsof het er nog niet dik genoeg boven op ligt – met van die ballonnen vet erbovenuit.*

'Way too tight pants and – as if it isn't obvious enough already – with balloons of fat bulging out on top.

Nou, als dat mooi moet zijn!

INTERJ COND DEM pretty must.PRS be.INF

Well, if that's supposed to be pretty!

(Paul Waterman, *De Succulentenkweker*. Boekenbent 2007, accessed via Google Books, 16/10/2014)

In this construction, the modal verb *moeten* 'have to' functions as a means to mark a 'modal echo', signaling that the speaker assumes that there are people who find this particular style of dressing pretty (Verstraete & D'Hertefelt 2014:

648). No explicit scalar marking is present, but possible contrastive focus on the demonstrative *dat* evokes an *ad hoc* scale on which different styles of dressing are ordered according to how pretty the speaker thinks they are. Once again, the evaluated SoA constitutes a wrong cut-off point between two contrasting classifications, i.e. ‘nice styles of dressing’ on the one hand and ‘bad styles of dressing’ on the other. While the speaker does not deny that there are certain styles of dressing that are obviously beautiful, they do not agree that this particular clothing choice belongs in the category of ‘nice ways to dress’. A similar example is presented in (96):

ENGLISH (IC)

- (96) [title of a review of a Dutch restaurant]
If this is supposed to be good, 'authentic' Dutch food....
 (http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowUserReviews-g188590-d1545813-r133777711-Oud_Holland-Amsterdam_North_Holland_Province.html,
 16/10/2014)

In this example, the use of the modal expression *be supposed to* functions as a modal echo, signaling that the speaker assumes that there are people who think that this is an example of ‘good Dutch food’. This is evaluated as absurd by the speaker, who thinks that this food belongs in the contrasting category of ‘bad Dutch food’ instead.

As argued above, I have only found absurd evaluatives in English and Dutch. However, there is one seemingly more constructionalized version of this type which is also found in Swedish and German. These are constructions with a more or less fixed form *if this isn't X*, consisting of a demonstrative, a relational verb, explicit negation and a predicative expression. Such constructions refer to a particular qualification which the speaker evaluates as absurd. Some examples are given below:

SWEDISH (IC)

- (97) *Det finns många problem med serien, det är inte perfekt.*
 ‘There’s a lot of problems with the series, it’s not perfect.
Men herregud om det inte är otroligt bra.
 but INTERJ COND DEM NEG be.PRS very good
But oh my God if it isn’t really good.
 (<https://www.gamereactor.se/blog/original/707924/>, 17/10/2014)

GERMAN (IC)

- (98) [comment on a picture of a landscape]
Wenn das nicht schön ist!
 COND DEM NEG beautiful be.PRS.IND
 ‘If that isn’t beautiful!’

(<http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/LocationPhotoDirectLink-g4006938-i18711826-Wilchingen.html>, 17/10/2014)

DUTCH (IC)

- (99) **Als dat niet lekker is...**

COND DEM NEG good be.PRS

'If that isn't good...

na het opruimen van de verjaardagsrommel, nog 'n bakkie koffie met moeders aan de keukentafel, gewoon #omdathetkan

After cleaning up the birthday mess, a cup of coffee with my mom at the kitchen table, just #becauseIcan'

(<https://twitter.com/Santimmer/status/406587178672992256>, 08/07/2014)

ENGLISH (Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 231)

- (100) *"Look at my new microwave," Mrs. Dugan said. "If that's not just the weirdest darn thing I ever laid eyes on."*

These constructions have been discussed already for Dutch (Verstraete & D'Hertefelt 2014: 648), German (Köpcke & Panther 1989: 707) and English (Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 231). Just like the other examples of absurd evaluatives, constructions like (97) to (100) evoke a scale with two contrasting sets of alternatives (see also Verstraete & D'Hertefelt 2014: 648 and Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 231 on the scalar character of such Dutch and English constructions respectively). For instance, while the speaker in (98) does not deny that there are things which can be considered not pretty, they do not agree that this particular picture belongs in this category. Because they evaluate a particular qualification as absurd and indicate that the speaker thinks the opposite is the case, constructions like (97) to (100) also involve polarity reversal, which is also due to *reductio ad absurdum*. As argued by Köpcke & Panther (1989: 107) for German and Dancygier & Sweetser (2005: 231) for English, such evaluatives conventionally imply an unacceptable or absurd consequent, which explains why the protasis is also evaluated as absurd. An example with such an absurd main clause is given in (101):

GERMAN (Köpcke & Panther 1989: 707)

- (101) **Wenn das kein Meisterwerk ist,**

COND DEM NEG masterpiece be.PRS.IND

'If that isn't a masterpiece,

fresse ich einen Besen.

I'll eat a broom.'

3.4 Summary

In this section I have shown that independent conditional clauses can be used to express three types of evaluation, depending on the type of scale which they evoke. First, remarkable evaluatives evaluate a particular SoA as remarkable with respect to a more expected set of alternatives. Second, lower-limit evaluatives evaluate a particular SoA negatively, and implicitly compare it with even worse alternatives. Finally, absurd evaluatives signal that the speaker disagrees with something and thinks the opposite is the case. I have shown that these three types have an uneven distribution across the six languages under investigation. The main findings for evaluatives are summarized in Table 11.

4 Assertive constructions

A third type of independent conditional clause is used to assert that something is the case. An example of this category was given in (6), which will be repeated below; additional examples are given in (102) to (104):

DUTCH (IC)

- (102) [context: a man is asked to buy tampons for his girlfriend; he suspects it will be hard to find the right packing]

In de winkel aangekomen in de hoop op zoek te gaan naar één tampon verpakking met een geel en oranje kleur erop.

‘Arrived in the shop, hoping to look for one tampon packet that has a yellow and orange color.

Maar helaas, 6 doosjes naast elkaar: geel, oranje, geel, oranje, geel en oranje. Zucht...

But alas, 6 boxes next to each other: yellow, orange, yellow, orange, yellow and orange. Sigh...

*Ja hoor, **als ik het niet dacht.***

COND I DEM NEG think.PST

Right, **I thought so.**’ [lit.: If I didn’t think so.]

(<https://aspergeradd.wordpress.com/2014/01/14/tampons-halen-voor-je-partner/comment-page-1/>, 10/11/2014)

ENGLISH (IC)

- (103) *JERRY: Well well, **if it isn't the first lady of the American Theatre.** What brings you here?*

ELAINE: Just gonna return some of your things that were in my house.

(<http://www.seinfeldscripts.com/TheMango.html>, 07/11/2014)

Semantic type	Type of marking	Formal marking					
		Dutch	English	German	Swedish	Danish	Icelandic
Remarkable evaluatives: focused SoA evaluated as remarkable vis-à-vis more expected alternatives	Other	Contrastive focus					
Lower-limit evaluatives: focused SoA forms lower limit for negative (/positive?) evaluation	Particles	Scalar markers e.g. <i>zelfs maar</i>		Scalar markers e.g. <i>schon</i>			
	Verbs	Contrastive focus on verb		Contrastive focus on verb			
Absurd evaluatives: speaker evaluates something as absurd and signal that they think the opposite is true	Particles	(Scalar markers) (Contrastive focus) (Modals signaling modal echo)					
<u>Subtype</u> : <i>if that isn't X</i>	Other	<u>Fixed pattern</u> : demonstrative + relational verb + negation + predicate					

Table 11: Constructional properties of evaluative conditional constructions.

ENGLISH (IC)

(104) [title of a post about a lost football game]

Well if ever there was a loss we can afford...

(http://forums.twobillsdrive.com/topic/137109-well-if-ever-there-was-a-loss-we-can-afford/, 17/10/2014)

The conditional clauses in (102) and (103) both contain an explicit negator but are used to assert the opposite: in (102), the conditional clause serves to assert that the speaker already thought something, and in (103), the speaker uses a negative construction to identify someone as the first lady of the American Theatre. In (104), the conditional clause is used to state that a particular loss was one the speaker could afford. Constructions like (102) to (104) are found to varying degrees in the languages under investigation, and have not all been described to the same extent in the literature. In the following three sections, I discuss the three variants illustrated above, i.e. constructions that assert the occurrence of a particular event like (102), constructions used to assert identification like (103), and constructions used to assert qualification like (104). I use the general label ‘assertive’ for all of them.

4.1 Assertion of the occurrence of an event

In this section, I discuss constructions that are used to assert the occurrence of an event. This type was illustrated in (102) above, where the speaker asserts that they already thought something. Some further examples include the following:

ENGLISH (Stirling 1999: 287)

(105) *The wretch! If he has not smashed the window!*

ENGLISH (Panther & Thornburg 2003: 140)

(106) *And, so help me never! **if his nibs didn't go and dossed with her the same night!** [1846 Swell's Night Guide 49]*

The conditional clause in (105) is used to assert that someone has smashed the window, and in (106) the speaker asserts that someone slept with a particular woman. These constructions have been discussed for Dutch (Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 19) and English (Stirling 1999: 287; Panther & Thornburg 2003: 139), where they have been labeled ‘expressions/exclamations of surprise’. I will use the label ‘assertive’ because I think this best reflects their primary meaning, which is to state that something is the case. I have not found similar constructions in the other languages.

Dutch constructions like (102) seem restricted to more or less fixed phrases (I have only found the expression *als ik het niet dacht* ‘if I didn’t think so’), while English constructions like (105) and (106) have been argued to be archaic (Stirling

1999: 287). All constructions seem to occur with a perfect or past tense. In addition, these structures are clear instances of polarity reversal, since they refer to a negative SoA but are used to communicate the opposite. In Section 3.3, on absurd evaluatives, I argued that the polarity reversal that is typical of such constructions could be explained via the mechanism of *reductio ad absurdum*, because they conventionally evoke an absurd or unacceptable consequent clause. However, for assertive constructions like (102), (105) and (106) it seems very hard if not impossible to reconstruct a main clause, so for now their polarity reversal remains unexplained.

4.2 Assertion of identification

This section focuses on independent conditional clauses that are used to assert identification. This type was illustrated in (6) and (103) above, repeated here as (107) and (108) respectively. An additional example is given in (109):

ICELANDIC (IC)

- (107) *Jú, ef það skyldi ekki vera Steingrímur J. Sigfússon*
 yes COND DEM shall.PST.SBJV NEG be.INF NAME
sjálfur sem flutti ræðuna!
 self REL give.PST.IND speech
 ‘Yes, if it wasn’t Steingrímur Sigfússon himself who gave the talk!’
 (<http://islandsfengur.blog.is/blog/islandsfengur/?month=12;year=2009;offset=29>, 21/10/2014)

ENGLISH (IC)

- (108) *JERRY: Well well, if it isn't the first lady of the American Theatre. What brings you here?*
ELAINE: Just gonna return some of your things that were in my house.
 (<http://www.seinfeldscripts.com/TheMango.html>, 07/11/2014)

DUTCH (IC)

- (109) [comment on a picture on Netlog]
ierse als dat de yonii niet is :)
 COND DEM the NAME NEG be.PRS
 ‘Look here, if that isn’t Yonii [smiley]’
 (http://bn.netlog.com/yoni_flacher/photo/photoid=97482136#photoid=97482136, 17/10/2014)

Constructions like these have been discussed for English (Quirk et al. 1985: 842; Declerck & Reed 2001: 387; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 945; Panther & Thornburg 2003: 139; Panther & Thornburg 2005: 66) and for Dutch (Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 19). All of these authors argue that the basic function of such

constructions is to express surprise upon seeing someone, and they typically label them as either ‘expressives’ or ‘exclamations’. While I agree that in some contexts such constructions can convey surprise, this is not always the case. Rather, I think their primary meaning is the assertion of identification, which is why I put them in the assertive and not in the evaluative category. I have not found examples of this type in my Danish, Swedish and German data.³¹

Assertions of identification have a fixed form, consisting of combination of a demonstrative element referring to a particular person, a relational verb, negation and an identifying expression (*If that isn’t X*). They have negative polarity, but are used to communicate the opposite, i.e. *this is X*. In this sense, they have polarity reversal, and are very similar to absurd evaluatives like *if that isn’t beautiful*. As I showed in Section 3.3, the polarity reversal of these evaluatives can be explained by the fact that such constructions conventionally evoke (and sometimes still occur with) unacceptable or absurd consequent clauses. A similar explanation seems to work for my assertions of identification, as these constructions sometimes occur with main clauses expressing absurd or unacceptable consequents, as is illustrated in (110) and (111).

DUTCH (Boogaart 2015)

- (110) **Als dat meneer Jansen niet is**
 COND DEM Mr NAME NEG be.PRS
 ‘If that isn’t Mr Jansen

³¹ However, consider the following Swedish example:

SWEDISH (IC)

- (4) *Jag längtade efter att få berätta historier som kändes, att få spela roller som jag kunde relatera till.*

‘I wanted to be able to tell stories that could be felt, to be able to play roles I could relate to.

Tio år senare så har jag allt det där.

Ten years later I have all that.

Men fan om det inte är fortfarande det som gör att

but INTERJ COND DEM NEG be.PRS still DEM REL make.PRS COMP

jag vill gå på lajv.

I want.PRS go.INF to LARP

But hell if that isn’t still what makes me want to do LARP [Live-action-role-playing]’

(<http://kalashnicore.wordpress.com/category/lajv/>, 17/10/2014)

Although this construction does not express person identification like the constructions in (107) to (109), it does assert more abstract identification, by stating that something is the reason behind the speaker’s wish to do LARP. Further research is needed to see to what extent constructions like these are similar to the person-identifying constructions discussed in this section.

dan eet ik m'n hoed op!
I'll eat my hat!

ENGLISH (IC)

- (111) *If that isn't Mr Poinsett leading one of them it's his spitten image! And Captain Uribe, too!*
(*Boy's Life*, October 1940. Published by Boy Scouts of America, accessed via Google Books, 28/08/2015)

4.3 Assertion of qualification

In addition to asserting the occurrence of events or identifications, conditional clauses can also be used to assert qualification. This is illustrated in (104) above, repeated here as (112), and (113):

ENGLISH (IC)

- (112) [title of a post about a lost football game]
Well if ever there was a loss we can afford...
(<http://forums.twobillsdrive.com/topic/137109-well-if-ever-there-was-a-loss-we-can-afford/>, 17/10/2014)

DUTCH (IC)

- (113) *Ik hoorde vandaag dat mijn broer een hond gaat kopen. Ik kan er nog steeds niet over uit. Mijn broer. Een hond. Ongelooflijk.*
'Today I heard that my brother is going to buy a dog. I still can't get it. My brother. A dog. Unbelievable.
@Lucas5915 **als er nu één iemand verstand van**
COND there now one someone understanding of
maximaal afblaffen heeft... #voila
maximally bark.INF have.PRS
@Lucas5915 **if there's one person who knows about barking...**
#thereyougo'
(<https://twitter.com/Donz077/status/319528582575693824>, 04/12/2013)

The conditional clause in (112) refers to the existence of a particular type of loss, i.e. a loss we can afford. What this construction communicates is that this qualification applies to a contextually relevant loss, i.e. the recent loss of the speaker's favorite football team. The same applies to (113), where the construction refers to the existence of a person who barks a lot, and is used to assert that this qualification applies to a contextually relevant person, i.e. the speaker's brother. To my knowledge, independent conditional clauses like these have only been described for Dutch (Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 20). I have only found examples in Dutch and English.

Boogaart & Verheij (2013: 20) have argued that constructions like (113) refer to a particular qualification, and evoke an implied consequent which refers to an entity that is a prototypical instance of this qualification, as in (114). This also seems to hold for the English constructions, as is illustrated in (115):

DUTCH (IC)

(114) *Komaaaaaan, GEEN buitenspel!*

‘Come oooooon, no off-side!

Als er nu één iemand zo'n pass perfect kan geven,
COND there PRT one someone such.a pass perfectly can.PRS give.INF

If there's one person who can make such a perfect pass,

dan is het Xavi wel.

then it's Xavi.'

(<https://twitter.com/cedrinho/status/435887063876259840>, 25/03/2015)

ENGLISH (Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 123)

(115) ***"If ever a fellow deserved a sticky death, it's this Deacon brute."***

Thus, the assertive character of independent conditional clauses like (112) and (113) can be explained by the fact that these constructions conventionally evoke a consequent clause which links the qualification contained in the protasis to a specific contextually relevant entity.

Assertions of qualification seem to use some typical formal markers. Examples in Dutch typically use the particle *nu*, and expressions which refer to specific entities, like *één iemand* 'one person'. English constructions often use the adverb *ever*, and NPs referring to an undetermined entity, like *a loss* or *a fellow*.

4.4 Summary

In the previous sections, I discussed three types of assertive constructions, i.e. constructions used to assert the occurrence of a particular event, constructions used to assert identification, and constructions asserting that a particular qualification applies to a contextually given entity. They are only found in my data for Dutch, English and Icelandic, and apparently not attested in German, Danish and Swedish. Table 12 summarizes the most important findings.

Semantic type	Formal marking					
	Dutch	English	Icelandic	German	Danish	Swedish
Assertion of occurrence of event	Fixed phrase: <i>als ik het niet dacht</i>	Negation Perfect or past tense				
Assertion of identification	Fixed pattern: demonstrative + relational verb + negation + identifying expression					
Assertion of qualification	<i>nu, één iemand</i>	<i>ever</i> , undetermined NPs				

Table 12: Constructional properties of assertive conditional constructions.

5 Argumentative constructions

In this section I discuss independent conditional clauses that serve to justify (the speaker's implied attitude to) something which was said in the preceding discourse. This type was illustrated in (7) above, repeated here as (116); a further example is given in (117):

SWEDISH (GSLC)

- (116) A: *sen / sen tar jag nog jeansskjol- även om den är rätt varm så är den tålig*
 'then / then I'll also take my jeans skirt even though it's quite warm it's sturdy
 B: *mm*
mm
 A: ***om det nu är så smutsigt på båtarna som inge sade***
 COND DEM PRT be.PRS so filthy on boats REL NAME say.PST
if it's as filthy on the boats as Inge said
 B: *mm*
mm
 A: *å så tar jag med mej den där tunna kjolen också*
 and then I'll also take that fine skirt with me'

ENGLISH (IC)

- (117) [Forum post titled '#%&\$\$\$!!! Aaargh, received the wrong watch!']
*Thanks guys for all the kind words. I knew you'd understand. **If at least it had been an interesting model or one that I wanted.** The seller offered*

me a discount for it but I refused since I don't really like the G-7700 - hate the shiny bezel ring.

([http://forums.watchuseek.com/f17/%25-\\$\\$%A7-aaargh-received-wrong-watch-1002646-2.html](http://forums.watchuseek.com/f17/%25-$$%A7-aaargh-received-wrong-watch-1002646-2.html), 18/03/2015)

In (116), the independent conditional clause refers to apparently given information ('it's filthy on the boats') which serves to justify the speaker's decision to take her warm but sturdy jeans skirt. In (117), the conditional clause justifies the speaker's implied rejection of a wrong delivery of a watch. With the exception of a brief discussion for English (Panther & Thornburg 2003: 140), these constructions have almost completely escaped attention in the literature so far. I use the general label 'argumentative', because this best captures their semantics, which is to argue in favor of or against something that precedes.

The two preceding examples illustrate two subtypes of arguments. Constructions like (116) refer to given information to justify the speaker's acceptance of or agreement with something that has been said before. Such constructions are single-layered, and will be labeled 'direct' arguments. They are discussed in more detail in Section 5.1. Arguments like (117) are double-layered, since they refer to counterfactual information which justifies the speaker's implied rejection of or disagreement with something that was said before. These constructions will be called 'indirect' arguments, and are discussed in more detail in Section 5.2.

5.1 Direct arguments

This section deals with conditional clauses which refer to given information in order to justify (the speaker's implied agreement with or acceptance of) something that was said in the previous discourse. An example of such a structure was given in (116); three more examples are given in (118) to (120):

GERMAN (Auer 2000: 20)

- (118) [telephone conversation: A calls B to cancel this evening's dinner plans because her husband (Klaus) is ill; B seems to be quite relieved since she has other plans anyway]

B: *wir ham doch n SCHIFFSnachbar*

'I told you about our ship neighbor

und der hat uns jetzt bestllmt schon das ZEHNtemal zum Essen eingeladen

and he has invited us at least ten times for dinner

und IMmer hatten wir was Andres vor

and we always had other plans

A: *mhm*

mm

- B: *jetzt ham mir gsA mir gehn heut Abend mit DEML äh nach cuxHAVen*
 so we said we'd go with him to Cuxhaven this evening
und dersch isch hier schon DRElma am SCHIFF vorbeigelaufen
 and he's walked by the ship three times
i glaub der sucht n(Jürgen) un FRAGT wenn das jetzt alles IOSgeht
 I think he is looking for Jürgen (= B's husband) and asks when we are leaving
- A: *aa*
ah
- B: *und mir wärn also ersch so morgen*
 so we would only be tomorrow ((break-off))
aber wenn der klaus sowieso krank isch, na,
 but COND the NAME anyway ill be.PRS.IND
but if Klaus is ill anyway, then,
- A: *mhm also so wie ICH des ver äh standen hab, har der ä THOMas zu mir gesagt äh dass wir das verSCHIEben*
 mhm well as I understood it Thomas told me that we would postpone it'

DUTCH (CGN)

- (119) [context: conversation about pensioners in the US who try to earn some extra money by carrying people's groceries to their cars]
- A: *'k heb ze ook wel 'ns bij de kassa dollar gegeven hoor 'k zeg nou je hoeft niet mee te lopen*
 'I've also given them [a] dollar at the cash desk I said now you don't have to walk with me
gaf ik ze gewoon ook een dollar en denk van nou
 I just gave them a dollar too and thought well
- B: *ja*
 yes
- [...]
- ja zou dat 't enige zijn wat ze verdienen dan*
 yes would that be the only money they make then
- A: *het zijn gepensioneerden*
 they're pensioners
hebben alleen 't pensioentje
 they only have a small pension
- [...]
- nou ik voel me wel 'ns bezwaard*
 now I sometimes feel troubled
denk je van je loep je loopt daar zoals een luxe tante
 then you think you go there like some sort of posh lady
- B: *ja*
 yes

A: *alsof je zelf je boodschappen niet kunt dragen*

as if you can't carry your groceries yourself

maarja als 't hun inkomen is

but yes COND DEM their income be.PRS

but well, if it's their income

B: *ja*

yes

vind 'k altijd zo mooi van uh Bep Van Der Moer de vrouw van uh [...]

I always like it when Bep Van der Moer the wife of erm [...]

ENGLISH (Panther & Thornburg 2003: 141)

- (120) *'You must think I like the military sticking its nose in.' I said bitterly: 'We spend our lives running things the quiet way. Then the army arrives – a blow, a false word – bang – suddenly there are shots. All right. **If that's the way they want it.** But don't ask me to clean up the mess.'*

In (118), speaker B refers to the fact that A's husband Klaus is ill to justify B's decision to have dinner with their neighbor rather than with A and her husband. In (119), the speaker motivates their implied acceptance of the practice that pensioners carry your groceries for money by signaling that this is these people's income. In (120), the conditional clause refers to the fact that apparently the military wants to act in certain way to justify the speaker's implied acceptance of this way of handling things. Panther & Thornburg (2003: 140), the only (brief) discussion available in the literature, labels structures like (120) 'expressives'. I will use the label 'direct arguments' for constructions like (116) and (118) to (120) because this signals more clearly how they relate to the arguments to be discussed in Section 5.2. I have found constructions like these in Dutch, German, English and Swedish, but not in Danish and Icelandic.

Direct arguments are constructions which justify an element of the preceding discourse by referring to given or known information. In (116), the specification 'like Inge said' makes it clear that the content of the conditional clause is something which is said before, i.e. something given. In (118), the German particle *sowieso* 'anyhow' implies that both speaker and interlocutor know that Klaus is ill, and in (119) the fact that carrying groceries is these people's income had explicitly been mentioned before.

Direct arguments do not use specific formal markers, but they are often preceded by a contrastive conjunction like German *aber* 'but' in (118), or Dutch *maar* 'but' in (119). This is because they usually justify something that can be considered 'controversial', as has also been argued by van Eemeren et al. (1996: 5) for argumentative structures more generally. In (119), the speaker uses a direct argument to justify something which they themselves have previously evaluated negatively, i.e. the fact that pensioners carry their groceries to their car, which makes them feel 'troubled'. The contrastive marker *maar* 'but' signals the contrast between the 'expected' or 'uncontroversial' attitude towards this

practice, which would be one of rejection, and the speaker's implied acceptance of this practice, justified by the fact that these people need this extra income. A similar principle is at work in the following example:

DUTCH (CGN)

- (121) A: *en toen was 't Marloes*
 'and then it was Marloes
oh die is erg
 oh she's bad
dat is een
 she's a
die is bijna eenentwintig en nou heeft ze een vriend van zeventien
 she's almost twenty one and now she has a seventeen-year-old
 boyfriend
ggg
ggg
 B: *oh*
 oh
 A: *maar ze zijn dus heel erg verliefd*
 but they're very much in love
 [...]
 ik zie mezelf echt niet over twee jaar een vriend van zeventien hebben
 I don't see myself having a seventeen-year-old boyfriend in two years'
 time
 [...]
 echt raar
 really weird
 B: *ja*
 yes
 A: ***maar ja als ze verliefd is***
 but yes COND she in.love be.PRS
but well, if she's in love
 B: *ggg*
ggg
en Thomas met z'n vriendin van dertig
 and Thomas with his thirty-year-old girlfriend'

In this example, the speaker explicitly evaluates the relationship between Marloes and her seventeen-year-old boyfriend as odd. However, in spite of this, the speaker refers to the fact that they are very much in love to justify their implied acceptance of this relationship: 'but well, if she's in love, then it's okay'. The contrastive coordinator *maar* 'but' thus signals the contrast between the speaker's evaluation of this relationship as 'weird', and their implied acceptance of it.

In addition to the structures discussed above, which are only found in Dutch, German, Swedish and English, there also seems to be a more constructionalized version of direct arguments, which is found in all languages under investigation. These are more formulaic constructions that refer to the given fact that someone has said something to justify the speaker's (grudging) acceptance of what was said. Consider the following examples:

ENGLISH (Declerck & Reed 2001: 387)

- (122) [*"Any bloody idiot can tell you what it's like!"*] – *"If you say so, sir."*

DANISH (IC)

- (123) *"Hvis du spørger mig, er det folk, der ligger hjemme på sofaen og ser Til middag hos, der er total-tabere."*

"If you ask me, it's people who lie on the couch at home and watch Til middag hos who are total losers."

"Hvordan ved du, at hun ser Til middag hos?"

"How do you know that she watches Til middag hos?"

"Jeg ved bare sådan noget. Tro mig, amigo, hun sidder klistret til skærmen, når der kommer Til middag hos."

"I just know it. Trust me, amigo, she's glued to the screen when Til Middag hos is on."

"Okay, hvis du siger det."

okay COND you say.PRS DEM

"Okay, if you say so."

(Brian Conaghan, *Når hr. Hund bider*. Rosinante & Co 2015, accessed via Google Books, 30/07/2015)

DUTCH (IC)

- (124) A: *Ik zit met een dilemma.*

I have a dilemma.

Ofwel het raam open en fris windje,

'Either I open the window and I have a cool breeze in my room,

Ofwel raam dicht en geen lawaai van al die stomme trams en auto's die hier passeren.

Or I close the window and then I don't have the noise of all those stupid trams and cars passing by.

B: [...] *En Wouter, zet dat raam maar eventjes open, dat zal deugd doen :)*

And Wouter, I would open that window, it'll do you good [smiley]

A: *Ok, als jij het zegt ^_^*

okay COND you DEM say.PRS

Okay, if you say so [smiley]

(<http://vtk.ugent.be/forum/viewtopic.php?p=657789&sid=953788ead05a59781387973e48de5670>, 18/03/2015)

SWEDISH (IC)

(125) [conversation on Twitter]

- A: *Är sjuk och borde inte, men känner att jag kanske ändå måste släpa mig till KB ikväll och hosta sönder Aimee Mann [...]*
 '[I] Am ill and shouldn't, but feel like I maybe must drag myself to KB [Kulturbolaget] tonight anyway, and cough Aimee Mann to pieces [...]
- B: *Helt rätt prioritering!*
 Good priorities!
- A: *Okej, om du säger det så!*
 okay COND you say.PRS DEM SO
 Okay, **if you say so!**
- (<https://twitter.com/OlaSoderholm/status/291938184668008448>, 10/07/2014)

ICELANDIC (IC)

(126) [conversation on a Facebook page]

- A: *Sirka 70% netumferðar í heiminum fer í gegnum Internet Explorer. Það breytir því ekki að IE er drasl ☺*
 'Approximately 70% of the worldwide network traffic goes via Internet Explorer. It is unlikely that IE is garbage [smiley]
- B: *ok... ef þú segir það ☺*
 okay COND you say.PRS.IND DEM
Okay... If you say so [smiley]
- (<https://www.facebook.com/Lappari/posts/722651744434706>, 14/09/2015)

GERMAN (IC)

(127) [conversation on a forum]

- A: *Das mit dem Spargelstechen muß mir allerdings erklären... :D*
 'About the asparagus harvest, that's something you'll have to explain to me [smiley]
- B: *Das fällt wohl eher unter die Kategorie "Insider".*
 That's more like insider information, I guess.
Aber im Ernst, ich glaube das willst du auch gar nicht wissen.:D
 No but seriously, I think you really don't want to know [smiley]
- A: *LOL! Ok, wenn du 's sagst :D...*
 okay COND you DEM say.PRS.IND
 LOL! Okay, **if you say so** [smiley] ...'
- (<http://genickbruch.com/vb/archive/index.php/t-18145.html>, 18/03/2015)

As far as I know, these more constructionalized structures have largely remained under the radar in the literature, with the exception of English structures like (122). These have been discussed by Declerck & Reed (2001: 386-387), who classify them as 'expressives', because they implicitly or 'metonymically' evoke the speaker's disagreement with the preceding proposition. I do not use this label here, however, because I believe this evaluative dimension is a pragmatic effect of

the more basic meaning of the construction. In structures like (122) to (127), the conditional clause serves to justify the speaker's acceptance of something which they are not so certain of, or even do not really agree with. What is more, the very fact that the speaker uses an argument makes it clear that they think the preceding claim is to some extent controversial: if this were not the case, the speaker would not need an explicit argument to justify their acceptance. The speaker's (grudging) agreement is frequently made explicit by the particle 'okay' preceding the conditional clause.

5.2 Indirect arguments

In this subsection I discuss constructions like (117) above, repeated here as (128):

ENGLISH (IC)

- (128) [Forum post titled '#%&\$\$\$!!! Aaargh, received the wrong watch!']
*Thanks guys for all the kind words. I knew you'd understand. **If at least it had been an interesting model or one that I wanted.** The seller offered me a discount for it but I refused since I don't really like the G-7700 - hate the shiny bezel ring.*
 ([http://forums.watchuseek.com/f17/%25-\\$\\$%A7-aaargh-received-wrong-watch-1002646-2.html](http://forums.watchuseek.com/f17/%25-$$%A7-aaargh-received-wrong-watch-1002646-2.html), 18/03/2015)

In this construction, the conditional clause serves to justify the speaker's implied rejection of something that is described in the previous discourse, i.e. the fact that they received a wrong order. As argued above, arguments like these are two-layered. The conditional clause refers to a potential SoA which, if true, would have justified the speaker's implied acceptance of the way their order was handled: 'if it had been an interesting model or one that I wanted, then it would have been okay and I would have kept the wrong delivery'. However, the use of what looks like a past perfect tense form (i.e. a past tense of an auxiliary verb like *have* or *be* in combination with a past participle) marks this SoA as counterfactual. The speaker thus indicates that they know that the SoA is *not* true, i.e. that the delivery did not contain an interesting model or one that the speaker wanted, and therefore, the implied acceptance does not hold either. The argument can be summarized as follows:

- (129) [Trigger: They delivered the wrong watch.]
*If at least it had been an interesting model [I would have kept it
BUT I know it did not contain an interesting model, so I don't want it.]*

As far as I know, constructions like (128) have not been discussed in the literature so far, but they are found at least in English, Dutch and Swedish. Because of their two-layered nature, I will call these constructions 'indirect arguments'.

Indirect arguments always use past tense forms, which signal that the speaker either knows or thinks that the SoA in the conditional is not true (see Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 51, 63 on tense in conditionals and ‘epistemic distancing’). This is illustrated in (128) above, and in the following example, where a formally past modal *zouden* is used:

DUTCH (CGN)

- (130) A: *en dat was zo meer ja ggg ja die CLB's die dan zeiden van uhm ja stuurt ze toch maar naar 't eerste studiejaar*
 ‘and it was more like yes ggg yes the CLBs [centers for pupil support] they said ehm yes do send her to the first grade
 [...] *maar het blijft dus wel wel uh ja ja het blijft een vraag*
 but it still remains well well ehm yes yes it still remains a question
 [...] *het is zo ja zo een klein meisje nog*
 she’s still such yes such a small girl
't is zo echt nog zo een heel klein meisje hè
 she’s really still a really small girl
 [...]
- A: *ggg uh als dat nu nog zo uh een grote flinke zou zijn*
 COND DEM PRT still PRT INTERJ a big strong would
 be.INF
ggg erm if at least she were big and strong
- B: *ja ja ja*
 yes yes yes
- A: *maar 't is zo'n klein dun ding*
 but she’s so small and thin’

In this example, the conditional clause refers to the girl being big and strong, which would have been a reason to accept the advice to send her to first grade early. However, the use of the past *zouden* signals that the speaker has reason to assume that this is *not* the case, i.e. that the girl is *not* big and strong. This is confirmed in the speaker’s next utterance, in which they explicitly state the opposite (‘she’s small and thin’). Therefore, acceptance of the CLB’s advice is not justified, and the speaker implies they disagree.

In addition to using a past tense form, indirect arguments are often followed by clauses specifying the speaker’s ‘contrasting’ knowledge, as in (128) and (130). Furthermore, Dutch constructions typically use the particle *nu*, as in (130). A similar particle is used in Swedish indirect arguments, as is illustrated in the following example:

SWEDISH (IC)

- (131) [context: blog post on how someone deals with their partner's drinking problem, and why they do not leave him]

Jag har lärt mig att känna igen tecken, jag kan i förväg säga (om nu någon skulle fråga) att "i kväll kommer han dricka så mycket att han inte klarar av att klä av sig själv..." eller [...].

'I've learned to recognize the signs, I can say beforehand (if someone were to ask) that "tonight he'll drink so much he won't be able to undress" or [...]

Om det nu hade varit så att han ALLTID hade

COND it PRT have.PST be.PPART so COMP he always have.PST

druckit lika mycket och betett sig dåligt,

drink.PPART as much and behave.PPART REFL bad

If it had been the case that he'd ALWAYS drunk as much and behaved badly,

men det har gått i vågor och visst, vi har lyckats gå på fester utan att hamna i konflikt med varandra.

but it has gone up and down and true enough, we have been able to go to parties without fighting.'

(http://www.aktivalanken.com/spaltfraga132_08.htm, 27/01/2015)

In this example, the conditional clause refers to an SoA which, if it had been true, would have been an argument for the speaker to leave their partner. However, the counterfactual marking makes it clear that it is *not* the case that the partner always drinks too much, and in the following statement the speaker explicitly indicates that the man's drinking problem goes up and down. Thus, the conditional clause functions as an argument against seeing this situation as really problematic: *If it had been the case that he always drinks too much [it would be really problematic, but his drinking goes up and down so it's still bearable].*

5.3 Summary

In the preceding sections, I discussed two types of argumentative constructions, i.e. constructions that directly refer to given information to justify something which was said before, and constructions that function indirectly as an argument, by referring to an SoA which could have justified something from the previous discourse but which the speaker knows is not true and thus serves to justify their implied disagreement or rejection. I showed that argumentative constructions are found in Dutch, English, German and Swedish, but apart from a constructionalized variant they do not seem to be used productively in the other languages under investigation. In Table 13 I summarize the most important findings for these two types of argumentative constructions.

Semantic type	Formal marking						
	Type of marking	Dutch	English	Swedish	German	Danish	Icelandic
Direct arguments	Other	Frequently preceded by contrastive conjunction Frequently preceded by marker signaling acceptance (e.g. <i>yes, okay</i>)					
	<u>Subtype</u> : ‘if you say so’	Other	<u>Fixed phrase</u> : IF + 2 nd person + ‘say’ + ‘so’				
Indirect arguments	Particles	<i>nu</i>	/	<i>nu</i>			
	Verbs	Past tense					
	Other	Frequently followed by a statement that clearly refutes the statement referred to in the independent conditional, introduced by contrasting conjunction.					

Table 13: Constructional properties of argumentative conditional constructions.

6 Reasoning constructions

The fifth category of independent conditional clauses are constructions that form the starting point for an invited line of reasoning. This type was illustrated in (8) above, which is repeated here as (132); another example is given in (133):

GERMAN (IC)

- (132) *Zahnlückes Lachen bricht jäh ab, als der Kleine wieder fragt:*
 ‘Toothgap’s laughter breaks off, as the Little one asks again:
„Und wenn er doch kommt?“
 and COND he PRT come.PRS.IND
“And if he does come?”
„Dann nehmen wir ihn auseinander, Pfannkuchen.“
 “Then we’ll take him apart, Pancake.”
 (http://www.nuertinger-stattzeitung.de/extras/1_PeterText.htm, 17/11/2014)

ENGLISH (Panther & Thornburg 2003: 143)

- (133) *Farland summed up. Quite fair to hold out on Winter. It seems he’s keeping things back. **If he knows about the knife... And if he knows that Wally did attack the girl...** There were voices in the hall and Winter entered with the visitor.*

In these examples, the speaker introduces a potential scenario and invites the addressee to imagine or predict what its consequences would be: what happens if someone does come back, or what happens if someone knows something? As these examples illustrate, such ‘reasoning’ invitations can be directed to the interlocutor, as in (132), or to the speaker themselves, as in (133). Examples of these constructions have been discussed for English (Declerck & Reed 2001: 384; Panther & Thornburg 2003: 142; Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 264), Swedish (Laury, Lindholm & Lindström 2013: 242) and German (Buscha 1976: 276; Oppenrieder 1989: 173), but in this section I show that they are also attested in Dutch and Icelandic. So far, I have not found any examples of this type in my Danish data. Different labels have been used in the literature: Laury, Lindholm & Lindström (2013: 242) call such structures ‘suppositive’, Buscha (1976: 276) calls them ‘question sentences typical of dialogues’ and Dancygier & Sweetser (2005: 264) label them ‘trail off-constructions’. In this study, I will call them reasoning constructions.

By inviting the speaker or addressee to imagine the consequences of a potential SoA, reasoning constructions orient the speaker’s or interlocutor’s attention to a non-expressed consequent clause. This is clear from the fact that the conditional subordinator *if* can always be preceded by the question word *what* (see also Buscha 1976: 276 and Declerck & Reed 2001: 384). In the examples above, the construction functions as an invitation to consider what might happen

in a potential scenario, but reasoning structures can also refer to a counterfactual scenario and be used to predict what *could have* or *would have* happened under those circumstances. This was illustrated in (3) above, repeated here as (134):

ENGLISH (Panther & Thornburg 2003: 142)

- (134) *So it had been chance that saved the organisation. **If Rickie Oppenheimer hadn't picked up the wrong valise...** But Rickie shouldn't have been carrying a brief-case that morning. Every other time he'd left it in the office at the Blue Bottle Club. Monday night he'd broken a long-standing habit.*

When reasoning constructions are directed to the addressee, they are often preceded by a coordinating conjunction. This is illustrated in (132) above, and in the following examples:

DUTCH (IC)

- (135) *Ik wil Boris spreken, zei Ángela. Die is er niet. Wat gek, zei Ángela, hij zei dat ik hierheen moest komen. Maar hij is er niet. Kan ik even op hem wachten? Ik denk niet dat hij komt.*

'I want to talk to Boris, Ángela said. He's not in. That's strange, Ángela said, he told me to come here. But he's not here. Can I wait for him? I don't think he's coming.

En als hij wel komt?

and COND he PRT come.PRS

And if he does come?

De man bekeek haar van top tot teen en zijn ogen begonnen te stralen. Ben jij Ángela?

The man looked her all over and his eyes started shining. Are you Ángela?' (Sergio Álvarez, *35 doden*. Bruna 2012, accessed via Google Books, 29/04/2015)

ICELANDIC (IC)

- (136) *Heimurinn er áreiðanlega ekki eins alvarlegur og sumir halda.*

'The world is probably not as serious as some think.

En ef hann skyldi nú samtsemáður hafa verið

but COND he shall.PST.SBJV PRT nevertheless have.INF be.PPART

skapaður í alvöru í upphafinu?

create.PPART for real in beginning

But (what) if it had nevertheless been created for real in the beginning?

sagði skáldið.

said the poet.

Mér er sama, sagði hún.

I don't care, she said.'

(http://snara.is/vefbaekur/g.aspx?dbid=6&order=chapter&sw=ALVARA&s=0&t=0&p_id=1885&k_id=50244&k_name=Heimslj%C3%B3s%20-%20H%C3%BAs%20sk%C3%A1ldsins%20k.%207%20s.%2059, 24/10/2014)

In (135), the speaker asks the interlocutor what would happen if someone comes back. In (136), the poet asks their interlocutor to imagine a scenario in which the world had been 'created', and asks them what they would think if this had been the case. Both structures use a coordinating conjunction, but this is not obligatory, as illustrated in the following example:

SWEDISH (Laury, Lindholm & Lindström 2013: 242)

(137) [Context: Moderator (M) discusses with two students (A, B) their chances of being admitted somewhere after high school]

M: tror du att juri sku va rolit då om du sku komma in

'Do you think that law would be fun then if you'd be admitted?

A: jaa ja tror int ja klarar av å läsa utantill såndänt

Well, I don't think I'll manage to learn such things by heart.

M: mm

[...]

M: om ni int kommer in nånstans efter gymnasie.

COND you NEG come.PRS in anywhere efter gymnasium

If you aren't admitted anywhere after high school.

A: ha:ha, de gör man nog.

Ha ha, we'll make it no doubt.

B: dee int nå problem.

That's not a problem.'

When reasoning constructions are directed to the addressee, they often seem to combine with a 'question' intonation, typically marked by a question mark in written language.

Table 14 summarizes the main findings for reasoning constructions.

Semantic type	Formal marking					
	Dutch	English	Swedish	Icelandic	German	Danish
Reasoning construction	Construction directed to the addressee: - frequently preceded by coordinating conjunctions - question intonation					

Table 14: Constructional properties of reasoning conditional constructions.

7 Post-modifying constructions

A sixth type of independent conditional clauses are constructions that are used to modify the preceding discourse, by formulating an extra condition for something which was said before. This type was illustrated in (9) above, repeated here as (138); a further example is given in (139):

SWEDISH (GSLC)

- (138) A: *mm jag tror i längden liksom så lönar det sig trots allt att satsa på miljön / för att*
 ‘mm I believe eventually in spite of everything it pays off to invest in the environment / because
 B: *m*
 mm
 C: *m*
 mm
 B: *ja absolut*
 yes absolutely
 A: ***om man gör det eh i god tid liksom***
 COND one do.PRS DEM INTERJ in due time TAG
if one does it on time
 C: *definitivt*
 definitely’

ENGLISH (Stirling 1999: 277)

- (139) A: *It's actually tender to touch then?*
 B: ***Only if you push it, push on it*** or *ummm it's ...*

In (138), the conditional clause modifies the content of the speaker's preceding assertion, by specifying *under what condition* it pays off to invest in the environment. The same applies to (139), where the speaker specifies the condition under which something is tender to touch. I have found examples of this type of construction in Dutch, English, German, Swedish and Danish. These constructions have been discussed for English (Ford & Thompson 1986: 368; Stirling 1999: 276; Declerck & Reed 2001: 383; Panther & Thornburg 2003: 144; Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 264; Heine, Kaltenböck & Kuteva forthcoming) and for Dutch (Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 21). They have not received any specific label in the literature, but I propose the label ‘post-modifying’, since I think this quite straightforwardly captures their basic semantics.

The previous examples show that post-modifying conditionals can be used to modify both something that the speaker said and something that their interlocutor said. Let us first take a closer look at the former type, which was illustrated in (138) and in the following examples:

ENGLISH (Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 264)

(140) [context: conversation between a dog trainer A and the dog's owner B]

A: *Maybe tomorrow he'll lie down on his own.*

B: *You think so?*

A: ***If you practice. If you don't give in. If you don't go all softhearted.***

GERMAN (DGD)

(141) A: *Freie Zeit hab ich an sich Sonntag nachmittags etwa noch.*

'In theory I've got some spare time on Sundays in the afternoon.

[...]

Wenn nicht auch diese Zeit zur Vorbereitung zu einer Arbeit

COND NEG also this time for preparation for a job

oder irgend etwas für den Beruf in Anspruch genommen

or something for the job in claim take.PPART

wird.

become.PRS

If this time isn't claimed to prepare a job or something work-related as well.

B: *Ja, und wie ist es mit dem freien Samstag, da arbeiten Sie doch nicht?*

Yes, and what about free Saturdays, you don't work then do you?

DANISH (BySoc)

(142) A: *jeg kunne da sakkens £ finde på at flytte derned igen*

'so I could then easily £ imagine moving (down) there again

B: *ja £*

yes £

A: ***hvis det var muligt***

COND it be.PST possible

if it was possible'

In (140), the conditional clause formulates an extra condition for the speaker's previous assertion: maybe the dog will lie down on its own, *under the condition* that B practices. Similarly, in (141) and (142) the conditional clause specifies the condition under which the speaker has some spare time, or can imagine moving somewhere again. Because they continue on an assertion that was seemingly 'complete' already, such constructions function as a kind of increments, i.e. "nonmain-clause continuation[s] of a speaker's turn after the speaker has come to what could have been a completion point [...] based on prosody, syntax, and sequential action" (Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002: 16).

In addition to modifying the speaker's own previous turn, post-modifying constructions can also specify an extra condition for something which the interlocutor said. Constructions like these often follow a question by the interlocutor, indicating under what condition what is asked holds (see also Ford & Thompson 1986: 368). This is illustrated in (139) above, and in the following

example, where the conditional clause indicates under which condition something is allowed:

DUTCH (CGN)

- (143) A: *ach stuur je toch gewoon van die s standaard sollicitatiebriefjes d'ruit dan word je toch nergens aangenomen*
 'well then you just send out those standard letters of application then they won't hire you anyway
 B: *nee ik ga gewoon voor directeursfuncties*
 no I just go for manager functions
 A: *ach ja ggg*
 ah yes ggg
 C: *ja*
 yes
 [...]
 A: *mag dat*
 is that allowed
 B: *natuurlijk als je maar solliciteert*
 of course COND you PRT apply.PRS
 of course **as long as you apply**
 A: *maar jij bent xxx maar jij bent toen toch xxx kon toch beginnen bij Fixet*
 but you are xxx but didn't you xxx you could start with Fixet right'

In the examples discussed so far, the conditional clause formulates a condition for the content of the speaker's or interlocutor's preceding turn. In addition, post-modifying constructions can also be used to specify a required condition for a *presupposition* contained in what was said before. This is illustrated in the following examples:

ENGLISH (Declerck & Reed 2001: 385)

- (144) A: *I will be happy when she comes.*
 B: **IF she comes.**

DUTCH (IC)

- (145) *'Ze is misschien wat verwonderd geweest dat er iemand binnenkwam, maar niet bang. Toen hij toesloeg, zal ze misschien een zachte kreet hebben geslaakt – te laat.'*
 "She might have been a little bit surprised that someone entered, but not afraid. When he attacked, she might have given a small cry – too late."
'De kreet die miss Johnson gehoord heeft?'
 'The cry which miss Johnson heard?'
'Ja, als ze hem gehoord heeft.'
 yes COND she DEM hear.PPART have.PRS
 'Yes, **if she she heard it.**

Deze lemen wanden zijn dik en de ramen waren gesloten.'

These mud walls are thick and the windows were closed."

(Agatha Christie, *Moord in Mesopotamië*. Overamstel 2015, accessed via Google Books, 27/04/2015)

In (144), someone's coming is a prerequisite for happiness about her coming, and in (145), someone's perception of a cry is prerequisite for presupposing that it is a specific cry which they heard. Pragmatically, such constructions are used to signal "doubt or reservation about the truth of a presupposition inherent in the statement to which the [conditional] clause is a reply" (Declerck & Reed 2001: 385). The conditional subordinator in such uses is typically stressed (see Declerck & Reed 2001: 385 on English, and Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 21 on Dutch). In some cases, the subordinator is even used by itself, without a following clause, to signal this doubt:

DUTCH (IC)

- (146) [context: comments on a forum post in which 'Blondje' talks about the money she has made on the stock market]

A: *gefeliciteerd Blondje! Een erg indrukwekkend resultaat. En als je ieder jaar dit redement [sic] behaalt en dan ben je volgens mijn berekening over 17 jaar milonair [sic]!!!*

'Congratulations Blondje! A very impressive result. And if you have such a return every year, then according to my calculations you'll be a millionaire in 17 years' time!!!

B: *Dank je wel!*

Thanks!

Ja... áls, áls, áls!

yes COND COND COND

Yes ... IF, IF IF!

Maar ik kan er dit jaar net zo goed helemaal naast zitten en de helft verliezen.

But I could also be completely wrong this year and lose half [of my investments].'

(<http://www.blondjesbeleggenbeter.nl/eindstand-2014/>, 29/04/2015)

ENGLISH (IC)

- (147) *In Hebrews 9:13-14, for example, the writer's argument was if the blood of bulls and goats cleansed the flesh, then surely the blood of Christ will be even more efficacious in cleansing the soul. **Yes, if... IF, IF, IF!** But what proof did the writer give that the blood of bulls and goats could purify flesh? He gave none.*

(<http://www.theskepticalreview.com/tsrmag/3spide93.html>, 04/05/2015)

I have only found this 'presupposition-modifying' use in Dutch and English.

In general, post-modifying constructions do not occur with any typical formal markers, as indicated in Table 15 below. However, since they are used to modify the previous discourse, they depend on this previous discourse for their proper interpretation (see also Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 21), just like the elaborative complement clauses discussed in the previous chapter (Section 5). I will come back to this issue in the next chapter, where I will discuss to what extent this ‘discursive dependence’ forms a problem for analyzing post-modifying constructions as genuinely ‘independent’.

Semantic types	Formal marking					
	Dutch	English	German	Danish	Swedish	Icelandic
Post-modifying constructions: specify extra condition for something that was said before	(No typical formal marking)					
<u>Subtype:</u> modification of presupposition	- Stressed subordinator - Subordinator can occur in isolation					

Table 15: Constructional properties of post-modifying conditional constructions.

8 Conclusions

In this chapter I have developed a constructional typology of independent conditional clauses. I have shown that these constructions can be analyzed in terms of six basic semantic categories, which I have labeled deontic, evaluative, assertive, argumentative, reasoning and post-modifying. For some of these categories, finer subtypes could be distinguished on the basis of additional semantic parameters. For each of these types, I have shown how their semantics is reflected in their formal features. A summary of these findings is presented in Table 16. The discussion above also showed that not all of the types and subtypes are found in all languages studied here. The distribution of the different types is summarized Table 17.

Semantic types				Formal marking
Deontic: evaluate potential SoA in terms of desirability	Uncontrolled: - addressee not assumed to control potential realization - speaker does not influence realization	Potential wishes: - no reservations about potential realization		- particles (e.g. English <i>only</i>) - present tense form
		Irrealis wishes: - potential realization evaluated as improbable		- particles (e.g. English <i>only</i>) - simple past tense form
		Counterfactual wishes: - potential realization evaluated as impossible		- particles (e.g. English <i>only</i>) - 'past perfect' tense form
	Controlled: - addressee assumed to control potential realization - speaker's utterance influences realization	Speaker-oriented: SoA (un)desirable for speaker	Requests: SoA desirable for speaker	for action - verbs referring to addressee's willingness or ability to do something - particles signaling tentativeness, ease, brevity - 2 nd person subject
				for permission - verbs referring to speaker's ability or permission to do something - particles signaling tentativeness, ease, brevity - 1 st person subject
			Threats: SoA undesirable for speaker	- scalar expressions and/or action-initiating verbs like <i>dare</i> OR explicit negation - elliptical intonation - 2 nd person subject
		Addressee-oriented: SoA assumed desirable for addressee	Offers: speaker is willing to realize SoA	- expressions referring to either addressee's want or need, or speaker's willingness or ability to do something for addressee
			Suggestions: speaker proposes that addressee and/or speaker realize SoA	- particles (<i>nu + eens</i>) - 1 st or 2 nd person

Semantic types		Formal marking
Evaluative: evaluate SoA as remarkable, negative or absurd	Remarkable: SoA is evaluated as remarkable (+ or -) with respect to more likely alternatives	- contrastive focus
	Lower-limit evaluatives: SoA is evaluated negatively and implicitly compared to even worse alternatives	- scalar markers - contrastive focus on verb
	Absurd evaluatives: SoA is evaluated as absurd	(- scalar markers / contrastive focus) (- modals signaling modal echo) - <u>Fixed subtype</u> : IF + demonstrative + relational verb + negation + predicative expression
Assertive: assert particular SoA	Assertion of occurrence of event	- negation - Dutch: fixed phrase <i>als ik het niet dacht</i>
	Assertion of identification	- <u>Always fixed pattern</u> : IF + demonstrative + relational verb + negation + identifying expression
	Assertion of qualification	- particles: Dutch <i>nu</i> , English <i>ever</i> - Dutch: <i>één iemand</i> - English: undetermined NPs
Argumentative: justify (speaker's attitude towards) something from the previous discourse	Direct arguments	- frequently preceded by contrastive conjunction - frequently preceded by marker signaling acceptance (e.g. <i>yes, okay</i>) - <u>Fixed subtype</u> : IF + 2 nd person + 'say' + 'so'
	Indirect arguments	- past tense (- particles, e.g. Dutch <i>nu</i> , Swedish <i>nu</i>) - frequently followed by statement that clearly refutes/invalidates the statement referred to in the independent conditional, introduced by contrasting conjunction
Reasoning constructions: start of implied reasoning process		- frequently preceded by coordination conjunction - question intonation
Post-modifying constructions: formulate extra condition for something which was said in the previous discourse		- <u>Fixed subtype</u> (post-modification of presupposition in interlocutor's turn): - stressed subordinator - subordinator can occur in isolation

Table 16: Constructional properties of independent conditional constructions in six Germanic languages.

Semantic type					Dutch	German	English	Danish	Swedish	Icelandic
Deontic	Uncontrolled	Potential wishes			X	X	X		X	X
		Irrealis wishes			X	X	X	X	X	X
		Counterfactual wishes			X	X	X	X	X	X
	Controlled	Speaker-oriented	Requests	for action	X	X	X	X	X	X
				for permission	X	X	X	X	X	X
			Threats	+	X	X	X	X	X	X
				-	X					
		Addressee-oriented	Offers		X	X	X		X	
	Suggestions		X							
Evaluative	Remarkable			X	X	X				
	Lower-limit			X	X					
	Absurd			X		X				
	Subtype: 'if that isn't X'			X	X	X		X		
Assertive	Assertion of occurrence of event			X		X				
	Assertion of identification			X		X			X	
	Assertion of qualification			X		X				
Argumentative	Direct arguments			X	X	X		X		
	Subtype: 'if you say so'			X	X	X	X	X	X	
	Indirect arguments			X		X		X		
Reasoning				X	X	X		X	X	
Post-modifying				X	X	X	X	X		

Table 17: Cross-linguistic availability of independent conditional constructions in six Germanic languages.

Part II: Insubordination

Introduction

In the second part of this thesis, the focus shifts from description to theory. In the previous two chapters I analyzed a wide range of different independent complement and conditional structures in Germanic. In the next two chapters, I will use this rich data set to see what it can tell us about the nature of insubordination more generally.

As already mentioned in the general introduction to this study, there are two theoretical issues that are discussed frequently in the existing literature. The first one is the semantics of insubordination. A number of studies have distinguished three 'typical' insubordinate functions, which have been labelled (i) 'modal', for structures expressing speaker attitudes, (ii) 'interactional', for structures managing speaker/hearer interactions and (iii) 'discursive', for structures which organize the discourse (e.g. Evans 2007: 368; Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 14; Gras forthcoming; Heine, Kaltenböck & Kuteva forthcoming). On a more general level, several authors have identified insubordination with the expression of various types of interpersonal meanings (e.g. Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 21; Van linden & Van de Velde 2014: 228; Sansiñena, De Smet & Cornillie 2015: 16; Vallauri forthcoming). The second issue that has received a lot of attention in the literature is the development of insubordination. In the introduction to this study, I briefly introduced Evans' (2007) proposal, which hypothesizes that insubordinate structures develop from 'regular' complex constructions via the ellipsis of the original main clause, and subsequent conventionalization of meaning and possibly constructionalization of form for the 'remaining' subordinate clause. Although this hypothesis still needs to be confirmed by diachronic corpus research, most studies adopt Evans' pathway as an explanation for the development of specific types of insubordination.

Both of these issues will be discussed in the next two chapters, but the focus will be on two further questions that have so far received far less attention in the literature, i.e. the external delineation of insubordination, and its internal organization.

In Chapter 3 I investigate the boundaries of insubordination. I argue that not all ICCs discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 are insubordinate, and that some types are better analyzed as instances of a different mechanism, i.e. dependency shift. While these two mechanisms both create 'independent' uses of formally subordinate clauses, I show that the resulting structures are in fact quite different as concerns their degree of independence, their formal marking and their probable development. Chapter 4 then zooms in on those structures which can be analyzed as insubordinate, and examines to what extent we can generalize over these different structures, both semantically and constructionally. First, I show that my data confirm existing claims about the semantics of insubordination, but

that the precise semantic range of complement and conditional insubordination seems to vary significantly across the individual languages studied here. Moving on to a construction-level analysis, I then argue that complement and conditional insubordination are constructionally quite fragmented, in the sense that they both encompass a range of different constructions which cannot be analyzed as instances of one schematic 'complement' or 'conditional' type.

CHAPTER 3

External delimitation of insubordination

1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes the grammatical status of the different types of independent complement and conditional clauses (ICCs) discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. At first sight, all of these structures look like good candidates for an analysis in terms of insubordination, i.e. “the conventionalized main clause use of what, on *prima facie* grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses” (Evans 2007: 367). However, I will show that not all ICCs meet the criteria for insubordination in the strict sense, and that some types can be accounted for more naturally in terms of an alternative grammatical mechanism from the domain of clause combining, i.e. dependency shift (e.g. Günthner 1999; Goethals 2002; Verstraete 2005a; D’Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014).

The issue of delimiting insubordination has received relatively little explicit attention in the literature so far. Most authors label the constructions which I discussed in the previous two chapters as ‘independent’, ‘isolated’ or ‘non-integrated’, without paying much attention to their grammatical status (e.g. Panther & Thornburg 2011 or Truckenbrodt 2013 for complement clauses; Stirling 1999 or Panther & Thornburg 2003, 2005 for conditional clauses; Weuster 1983 or Oppenrieder 1989 for both complement and conditional clauses). In a number of more recent studies, different types of ICCs have been analyzed as instances of insubordination, because they look like ‘independent subordinate clauses’ (e.g. Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012 or Wide 2014 for complement constructions; Boogaart & Verheij 2013 or Laury, Lindholm & Lindström 2013 on conditional insubordination).

However, in order to fully assess whether a particular ‘independent’ construction can be analyzed as an instance of insubordination, we first have to define the typical features of this mechanism. Starting from Evans’ (2007: 367) definition which was given above, two main criteria for insubordination can be distinguished, i.e. (i) formal subordinate marking and (ii) conventionalized ‘main clause’ use. In the following sections, I will investigate to what extent these criteria apply to my set of ICCs. I will show that most types conform to these criteria and can therefore be regarded as unproblematic instances of insubordination. However, I will also argue that there are two specific construction types which are problematic in this respect, i.e. elaborative complement constructions like (1) and post-modifying conditional constructions like (2):

SWEDISH (GSLC)

- (1) A: *om vi skulle fråga våra eh förstaklassare här om dom vill ha betyg eller inte skulle dom inte fatta vad det handlade om vet inte hur vad betyg eller vad det e (...) så det ju nånting som / andra lägger på*
 ‘if we were to ask our first-graders here if they want to have a diploma or not they wouldn’t understand what it was about, don’t know how what grades or what it is (...) so it’s something that / others impose

B: *ja*

yes

- A: **att det det kommer ju sen automatiskt i skolan att man får betyg**
 COMP DEM DEM come.PRS PRT afterwards automatically in school COMP one get.PRS grades
that grades come automatically in school
å då kommer den här / konkurrensen ännu mera in tror jag va
 and then this / competition starts even more I think right’

ENGLISH (Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 265)

- (2) “So you will keep him?” Macon said.
 “Oh, I guess,” she said. “If you’re desperate.”

As I argued in the descriptive chapters, elaborative and post-modifying constructions serve to further elaborate on or modify something which was said before, and as such they are discursively dependent on this preceding discourse. I will show that this discursive dependence often goes hand in hand with unclear syntactic independence, which makes it hard to analyze such constructions as ‘conventionalized main clauses’ in their own right. Furthermore, I will show that these constructions do not always unambiguously display subordinate marking. Following our previous work on the grammatical status of elaborative constructions (D’Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014; Verstraete & D’Hertefelt forthcoming), I will argue that these features are problematic for an insubordination analysis, but can easily be accommodated in terms of an alternative grammatical mechanism, i.e. dependency shift.

Sections 2 and 3 will focus on the grammatical status of independent complement and independent conditional clauses, respectively. In Section 4, I briefly discuss a further problem for an insubordination analysis, i.e. the presence of what look like ‘main clause traces’ in ‘independent’ constructions. I will argue that the existence of such structures may shed some light on Evans’ (2007) proposed developmental pathway for insubordination. In Section 5, I summarize the most important findings of this chapter.

2 Grammatical status of independent complement clauses

This section investigates to what extent the independent complement clauses discussed in Chapter 1 can all be analyzed as instances of one single grammatical category of insubordination. In section 2.1, I briefly discuss why deontic, evaluative and assertive constructions can be analyzed as insubordinate. For reasons of space, I will not discuss this in detail for each subtype, but I will illustrate the main argument for a number of specific types. Following our earlier work (D’Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014; Verstraete & D’Hertefelt forthcoming), in Section 2.2 I will then show why an analysis in terms of insubordination does not work for elaborative constructions, and I will argue that these constructions are better analyzed as instances of the alternative mechanism of dependency shift.

2.1 Insubordination

Even though deontic and evaluative constructions have received considerable attention in the literature, the question of their grammatical status has so far largely escaped attention. These constructions have very often been analyzed as either instances of a particular type of speech act (i.e. ‘optatives’ or ‘exclamatives’), or they have simply been described as ‘independent’ (e.g. Oppenrieder 1989; Panther & Thornburg 2011; Truckenbrodt 2013), ‘isolated’ (e.g. Buscha 1976) or ‘non-embedded’ (e.g. Weuster 1983) complement clauses. In our own earlier work, we have argued that deontic constructions like (3) and evaluative constructions like (4) can be analyzed as instances of insubordination (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012; D’Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014; D’Hertefelt forthcoming). In this section, I summarize the main arguments for this analysis, and I argue that a similar analysis applies to assertive constructions like (5):

- GERMAN (Maekelberghe 2011: 23)
- (3) *Alles Gute & Gesundheit für Dina,*
 ‘All the best and [good] health for Dina,
auf dass sie noch lange bei Euch bleiben darf!
 COMP she PRT long with you stay.INF may.PRS.IND
that she may stay with you for a long time!

- ICELANDIC (Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990: 36)
- (4) *Að María skuli elska Jón!*
 COMP NAME shall.PRS.SBJ love.INF NAME
 ‘[I’m amazed] That Maria should love Jón!’

DUTCH (IC)

- (5) [comment in the guest book of a camping]

En dat we genoten hebben!!!

and COMP we enjoy.PPART have.PRS

'We sure enjoyed it! [lit.: And that we enjoyed it!]

Wat een heerlijk plekje!

What a lovely place!

(<http://bijonsingroesbeek.nl/gastenboek-berichten/meer-dan-leuk-de-pipowagen/>, 15/09/2015)

For a construction to be analyzed as insubordinate, it should have subordinate marking in combination with conventionalized use as a main clause. All of the above types have subordinate marking, since they are all introduced by a complementizer and they have 'subordinate' word order in languages where this is relevant, as was described in the introduction to the descriptive part. In addition, all these constructions can be considered independent main clauses, because they occur without any matrix clause in the surrounding discourse³², and because they have clearly conventionalized meanings (as demonstrated in the semantic analysis in Chapter 1).³³

One further argument in favor of an insubordination analysis is that, at least from a synchronic perspective, deontic and evaluative complement constructions seem to conform to Evans' pathway for insubordination.³⁴ As discussed in the general introduction, Evans (2007: 370) proposes a specific developmental pathway for insubordinate constructions, hypothesizing that they start out as complex constructions, from which the main clause is ellipsed and the remaining subordinate clause develops a conventionalized meaning and a constructionalized form. On the basis of my synchronic data, it seems likely that most of the deontic and evaluative constructions developed via ellipsis of an original main clause, since some features of this main clause have become conventionalized in the

³² In Chapter 1 I showed that in Swedish and Danish, evaluative constructions are sometimes preceded by the marker *tänk/tænk*, which morphologically is the imperative form of the complement-taking predicate 'to think'. I will come back to this issue in Section 4 of this chapter, where I will briefly discuss the 'main clause' status of this marker, and how this complicates the analysis of these *tänk/tænk*-constructions as instances of insubordination.

³³ In the general introduction I indicated that analyzing formally subordinate constructions as 'main clauses' involves a certain paradox. This may explain why for evaluative constructions, some authors no longer analyze the 'original' complementizers as conjunctions but rather as particles (see Heltoft 2007: 18, Christensen 2009: 121 and Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 1570 for an analysis of the complementizer in Danish exclamatives as an 'illocutionary particle', a 'frame particle' and a 'subjective particle' respectively).

³⁴ On the basis of my limited data set, it is not yet clear to what extent an ellipsis pathway can be hypothesized for assertive complement clauses like (5).

meaning of the remaining subordinate clause. Consider the following equivalents of (3) and (4) with explicit main clauses:

DUTCH (IC)

(6) *Ik wens*

'I wish

dat jullie nog lang in gezondheid van dit moois mogen

COMP you PRT long in health of this prettiness may.PRS

genieten.

enjoy.INF

that you may enjoy these fine things in good health for a long time!

(<http://www.tboek.nl/gastenboek/ftfmuseum>, 20/05/2015)

DANISH (IC)

(7) *Det er mig uforståeligt*

'I think it's unbelievable

at noget så indlysende rigtig, skal være så svært

COMP something so obviously right shall.PRS be.INF so hard

at forstå.

INFM understand.INF

that something so obviously right should be so hard to understand.'

(<https://twitter.com/jflomholt/status/587536301165019137>, 20/05/2015)

In both of these examples, the main clause expresses a meaning that has become conventionalized in the 'insubordinate' use of these constructions, i.e. desirability with the predicate *wensen* 'wish' for the deontic construction in (6), and evaluation with the predicate *uforståeligt* 'unbelievable' in the evaluative construction in (7). Obviously, diachronic corpus research is needed in order to check the validity of this analysis, but at least from a synchronic perspective these constructions seem to be compatible with Evans' (2007) proposed developmental pathway. In general, the deontic, evaluative and assertive structures in (3) to (5) seem to be good, 'classic' instances of insubordination.

2.2 Elaborative constructions and dependency shift

In this section, I analyze the grammatical status of elaborative constructions like (2) above, repeated here as (8):

SWEDISH (GSLC)

- (8) A: *om vi skulle fråga våra eh förstaklassare här om dom vill ha betyg eller inte skulle dom inte fatta vad det handlade om vet inte hur vad betyg eller vad det e (...) så det ju nånting som / andra lägger på*
 ‘if we were to ask our first-graders here if they want to have a diploma or not they wouldn’t understand what it was about, don’t know how what grades or what it is (...) so it’s something that / others impose

B: *ja*

yes

- A: **att det det kommer ju sen automatist i**
 COMP DEM DEM come.PRS PRT afterwards automatically in
skolan att man får betyg
 school COMP one get.PRS grades
that grades come automatically in school
å då kommer den här / konkurrensen ännu mera in tror jag va
 and then this / competition starts even more I think right’

In earlier studies, these constructions have often received the same labels as the deontic and evaluative constructions, i.e. ‘non-embedded’ (e.g. Schlobinski 1988) ‘independent’ (e.g. Lehti-Eklund 2001) or ‘(syntactically) unintegrated’ (e.g. Weinert 2012; Wide 2014). In other work, elaborative constructions have been analyzed as instances of insubordination, together with deontic and evaluative constructions (e.g. Maekelberghe 2011 for German and Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012 for Dutch). However, in this section, I will follow the arguments developed in D’Hertefelt & Verstraete (2014) and Verstraete & D’Hertefelt (forthcoming) to show that elaborative constructions have two features which complicate an analysis in terms of insubordination, but which seem to favor an analysis in terms of dependency shift, i.e. (i) unclear dependency status, both on the discursive and on the syntactic level, and (ii) ambiguous subordinate marking in some languages.

A first argument against analyzing elaborative constructions as instances of insubordination concerns their degree of ‘independence’. At first sight, elaborative constructions look like ‘independent’ complement clauses, because they are not immediately preceded or followed by a main clause and they typically occur in a separate turn. However, as shown in Chapter 1, elaborative constructions are always discursively dependent on the previous discourse: they are not meaningful in isolation, but their elaborative meaning only becomes clear in relation to the surrounding discourse. This discursive dependence makes it hard to analyze such constructions as main clauses in their own right, as has also been argued by Weinert (2012: 252).

In addition to discursive dependence, elaborative constructions can also show some degree of syntactic dependence. While many elaborative constructions seem to occur without a possible matrix predicate, like (8) above, there are quite a few examples where the elaborative construction could be

analyzed as a complement for a preceding matrix. Consider the following examples:

DUTCH (CGN)

- (9) A: *xxx ja wij hebben ook wel liefde voor mekaar*
 'xxx yes we also have love for each other
maar toch heb je soms nog die dagen dat je echt zo 'k weet niet hoe verliefd kunt zijn
 but still you can have those days that you can really be crazy in love
 B: *verliefd bent ja*
 in love yes
 A: ***dat je zo echt weer opnieuw verliefd wordt***
 COMP you PRT really again again in.love become.PRS
that you really like fall in love again
 B: *wij hebben zo rondgelopen in Marokko*
 we walked around in Morocco like that'

SWEDISH (GSLC)

- (10) A: *jag vill att dom ska ha fasta regler (...)*
 'I want them to have fixed rules [lit.: I want that they have fixed rules]
 B: *m'm*
 mm
 A: *riktlinjer (följer ju dom)*
 directions (follow those)
 B: *m'm*
 mm
 A: *ja att man e strukturerad (...)*
 COMP one be.PRS structured
 yes **that one is structured'**

In (9), the complement clause elaborates on what the speaker said in their previous turn about days where they feel really in love. However, it is not clear to what extent this complement clause is syntactically independent, or functions as a (second) complement for the preceding NP *zo van die dagen [dat]* 'the sort of days [that]'. In (10), the complement clause further elaborates on what the speaker wants, but here it is unclear whether the complement clause is dependent on the preceding complement-taking predicate *vilja* 'want' or not. These two examples show that there seems to exist a 'continuum' between non-integrated elaborative complement clauses like (8) and (possibly) syntactically integrated ones like (9) and (10), as has also been argued by Günthner (2011, 2012) and Weinert (2012) for German elaboratives, and Mertzlufft & Wide (2013) for German and Swedish.

While the dependency status of elaborative clauses is problematic from the perspective of insubordination, it can easily be accounted for in terms of an

alternative mechanism from the literature on clause combining, i.e. dependency shift. This is a mechanism that serves to analyze cases in which subordinating conjunctions shift away from under the scope of their main clause, and develop towards more ‘coordinate-like’ uses (e.g. Küper 1991 and Günthner 1993, 1996, 1999 on German *weil* ‘because’ and *obwohl* ‘although’; Steensig 1998 on Danish *fordi* ‘because’; and Verstraete 2007: 181-186 more generally on Germanic and Romance). This is illustrated for the subordinator *because* in the two following examples:

ENGLISH (Verstraete 2007: 140)

- (11) *Did the difficulty arise merely **because the history of Joan exceeded its allotted space**? The evidence of several of the earliest manuscripts indicates otherwise, for it would seem that no space whatever was allotted to her in the original version of the Chronicon as written by Martin Polonus himself.*

ENGLISH (Verstraete 2007: 197)

- (12) *Well of course there is a lot of bullshit by the media, you know, **because why should they accuse me in one place and say that I’m responsible, I and my organisation are responsible for the violence in the country, and then in the next place say that I’m small and can be squeezed out.***

The *because*-clause in (11) is an example of a ‘typical’ subordinate clause, specifying the reason for the content of the previous main clause. The interrogative force of the main clause extends over the entire complex construction, as what is asked is not if a particular difficulty did arise, but rather if this difficulty arose because of the reason presented in the *because*-clause. The main and subordinate clause form one integrated complex construction constituting one interrogative speech act, which is illustrated by the fact that the subordinate clause can be clefted, as shown in (13), and can answer a *wh*-question, as shown in (14) (Verstraete 2007: 167):

- (13) *Is it **because the history of Joan exceeded its allotted space** that the difficulty arose?*
- (14) *Why did the difficulty arise? **Because the history of Joan exceeded its allotted space.***

The *because*-clause in (12), on the other hand, is an example of a ‘shifted dependency’ construction. In this example, the subordinate clause and the preceding main clause no longer form one integrated construction, as is illustrated by the fact that the *because*-clause resists clefting and cannot answer a *wh*-question:

- (15) * *It is because why should they accuse me and say that I'm responsible that there's a lot of bullshit by the media.*
- (16) *Why is there a lot of bullshit by the media?* * *Because why should they accuse me and say that I'm responsible.*

Furthermore, the fact that the *because*-clause in (12) has the form of a question shows that this clause has its own illocutionary force and is no longer part of the speech act of the main clause. In addition, when a subordinate construction has shifted from under the scope of its main clause it is no longer restricted to modifying the content of the main clause, but it can also modify, for instance, its speech act value (e.g. Groupe λ-I 1975: 262; Goethals 2002: 113; Verstraete 2007: 197). This is the case in (12), where the *because*-clause does not express the reason why there is a lot of bullshit by the media, but why the speaker *says* that this is the case.

Arguably, the mechanism of dependency shift can explain those features of elaborative constructions which complicate an analysis in terms of insubordination. While 'shifted' subordinate clauses still serve to modify a contextually present 'main clause', they are no longer as tightly integrated in a complex construction as typical subordinate clauses are. The same seems to apply to elaborative constructions: they are not part of an integrated complex construction, and can even occur without a clearly identifiable matrix clause, but the complementizer still marks some kind of dependency, signaling that the proposition links back to something that was said before.

A second argument against analyzing elaboratives as instances of insubordination is that they do not always have unambiguous subordinate marking. More specifically, while the insubordinate constructions discussed in the previous section always display typical 'subordinate' word order (in languages where there is a word order distinction), elaborative constructions can occur with 'main clause' word order, and sometimes even introduce interrogative or imperative clauses. In Swedish and Danish, elaborative constructions can both have the 'subordinate' AF-pattern and the 'main clause' FA-pattern. The following example from Danish illustrates the former pattern:

DANISH (BySoc)

- (17) A: *ja det kan jeg det kan jeg nemlig huske # og jeg (rømmer sig) og så bemærket den når jeg så har været hjemme og været sammen med nogen ik' ££*
 'yes I can, you see I can remember that # and I (clears throat) and so I noticed it when I was at home and was together with someone ££
- B: **at de så har bemærket det £ eller at du (uf)**
 COMP they PRT have.PRS notice.PPART DEM or COMP you
that they noticed it £ or that you

A: *ja eller jeg selv har bemærket det*
yes or I myself noticed it'

In this example, the particle *så* 'so' precedes the finite verb *har* 'have'. As shown in the introduction to the descriptive part, this word order has typically been associated with subordinate clauses, which are typically 'non-declarative' or 'non-foregrounded'. However, Swedish and Danish elaborative structures can also exhibit the 'main clause', 'declarative' or 'foregrounded' FA-pattern (see also Mertzluft & Wide 2013: 214). This was illustrated in (8), partly repeated here as (18), where the sentence adverb *ju* follows after the finite verb *kommer*, and in (19), which shows fronting of the adverb *så* and subsequent inversion of the finite verb and the subject:³⁵

SWEDISH (GSLC)

- (18) *att det det kommer ju sen automatist i*
COMP DEM DEM come.PRS PRT afterwards automatically in
skolan att man får betyg
school COMP one get.PRS grades
'that grades come automatically in school'

DANISH (BySoc)

- (19) A: *jobbet direktør det giver jo nok £ en eller anden £ prestige*
'a job as manager well that implies £ some £ prestige
B: *ja*
yes
A: ***at £ så bor du ikke i et eller andet tredjerangshus***
COMP PRT live.PRS you NEG in one or other third-rate.house
that £ you don't live in some third-rate house'

As mentioned earlier, this word order is not uncommon in Swedish and Danish complement clauses but can be used to signal that the content of the complement clause is 'foregrounded' (Jensen & Christensen 2013) or 'informative', thus making the complement clause "comparable to a declarative speech act" (Christensen & Heltoft 2010: 94).

Elaborative clauses with 'main clause' word order are also attested in (some varieties of) Dutch. As mentioned earlier, Dutch main clauses typically have verb-second word order, whereas subordinate clauses have the verb in final position. Although most Dutch elaborative constructions seem to display 'subordinate' verb-final word order, as for instance in (9) above (*dat je zo echt weer opnieuw verliefd wordt* 'that you really like fall in love again'), in some Dutch dialects

³⁵ Inversion of finite verb and subject has also been described as an instance of 'main clause' FA-order (Lehti-Eklund 2001: 110).

elaborative complement clauses can be used with verb-second word order (see De Rooy 1965: 127 and references therein). This is illustrated in the following Hollandic example:

DUTCH (De Rooy 1965: 128)

- (20) *En toe' kwamme we langsij, we hadde allemal van die grôte dubbelse jasse-n-an.*

'And then we came alongside, we all wore those big double coats.

Dat- tie kerel die zag ons, die denk be ze ègge,

COMP that guy DEM see.PST US DEM think.PST with REFL

wat komt daar voor en par... paar schepe met zeerovers
what come.PRS there for a couple couple ships with pirates
an.

on

That that guy he saw us, he thought to himself, why, there's a couple of ships with pirates arriving.

Dat- tie stond der te trille

COMP DEM stand.PST there INFM tremble.INF

That he stood there trembling

en we schote langs en ouwe Janus en Jaap Been, die ginge over

and we shot past [him] and old Janus and Jaap Been, they went over[board]'

In this example, the complement clauses further elaborate on a description of a particular situation which was initiated in the preceding main clause. These clauses both display 'main clause' word order, with the finite verb in non-final position.

In addition to constructions displaying 'main clause' word order, Swedish elaborative clauses can even introduce non-declarative clause types, like imperative or interrogative clauses (Lehti-Eklund 2001: 110). This is illustrated in the following example:

SWEDISH (Lehti-Eklund 2001: 102)

- (21) *Regina: ja (eller) (.) men vi ska nu kolla för de finns- t- så kan man kolla me bildningsförbunde om di sku villa ge pengar*
'yes (or) but we will now check because there's so we can check with the education union if they would want to give money

Nanna: mm

mm

Regina: (hh) så kan man kolla me den hä: (.) kulturföreningen (.) XX kulturföreningen om di vill ge pengar (.) di ha nämligen pengar
so we can check with this culture union XX the culture union if they want to give money they happen to have money

Nanna: *jå*

yes

Regina: *så kan man kolla me:d ungdoms- (0.8) centralen*

so we can check with the youth central

(1.5)

Regina: ***att checka nu me dihär***

COMP check.IMP now with this

[that] check this now

för nu sku de vara kiva att kunna ge någån arvode (.)

because it would be nice to be able to give some salary'

In this example, the complement clause repeats and summarizes Regina's previous suggestion to check if the education union would want to sponsor a particular event, but makes it more directive by using an imperative form (Lehti-Eklund 2001: 110).

If Swedish, Danish and Dutch elaborative clauses sometimes use 'main clause' or 'declarative' word order and sometimes even allow imperative or interrogative clauses, this makes it hard to consider such constructions to be unambiguously marked as subordinate. This is problematic for an analysis in terms of insubordination, but at the same time it provides further evidence for an analysis in terms of dependency shift. Several authors have argued that dependency shift often goes hand in hand with shifts in the internal structural possibilities of the clause, which can lose its clause-internal subordinate marking and take on various types of main clause marking (e.g. Goethals 2002; Verstraete 2004, 2007). This was illustrated in (12) above, where the *because*-clause was followed by a question (*because why should they accuse me in one place and say that I'm responsible*).

An additional argument in favor of analyzing elaborative constructions as instances of dependency shift relates to the status of the 'complementizer' in these constructions. Although 'subordinate' marking for 'independent' constructions always implies a certain paradox, as I mentioned before, the fact that Dutch, Swedish and Danish *dat*, *att* or *at* no longer signal syntactic dependency and can even introduce non-declarative clauses makes it doubtful whether they can still be analyzed as 'complementizers'. There is, in fact, a further indication that the 'complementizer' in elaborative constructions may be distancing itself from its 'original' subordinate use: in some cases it becomes prosodically detached from the clause it introduces. This has been argued for (some dialects of) Dutch by De Rooy (1965: 128), and is illustrated for Danish in

(19) above, where £ marks a pause,³⁶ and for Swedish in (22) below, where the complementizer is followed by a pause marked by / and an interjection:

SWEDISH (GSLC)

- (22) A: *men detta e ju faktiskt bara ETT av tv+ / ja åtminstone TVå tänkbara
sätt att uppfatta kultur /*
‘but this actually is only one out of tw- / yes at least two conceivable
ways to interpret culture /
- B: *m:*
mm
- C: *m:*
mm
- A: *att / e:h du ser det alltså som normer för //*
COMP INTERJ you see.PRS DEM PRT REL norms for
mänskligt beteende va /
human conduct TAG
that / eh so you see it as norms for // human conduct right /
men du kan ju också uppfatta kultur som / beteendet självt va
but you can also interpret culture as / the conduct itself right’

Since *dat* or *at(t)* (i) no longer signal syntactic dependence, (ii) are not always part of the following proposition and (iii) can introduce non-declarative clause types, it is questionable to what extent they still function as ‘subordinate’ markers. This is another complicating factor for an analysis in terms of insubordination, but at the same time it provides a further argument in favor of an analysis in terms of dependency shift, where non-integrated discourse markers have been described as the endpoint of conjunctions shifting away from their original subordinate use (Stenström 1998). Indeed, rather than signaling syntactic dependence, complementizers in elaborative constructions signal a discursive link between the clause that follows and the previous discourse. As argued by a range of authors, this implies that they come to function more or less like discourse markers or ‘linkers’ (e.g. Lehti-Eklund 2001: 81 and Lyngfelt 2003: 142 for Swedish; Thompson 2002: 143 for English; see also Englebretson 2003: 123 for similar constructions colloquial Indonesian; Seppänen & Laury 2007: 557 and Laury & Seppänen 2008: 153 for colloquial Finnish; Keevallik 2008: 137 for Estonian).

When the complementizer in elaborative constructions is reanalyzed as a kind of discourse marker, there are some indications that its ‘linking’ function can be extended from signaling links to the previous discourse to signaling more general links to the discourse situation. For instance, at least in Dutch, series of

³⁶ For Danish, also see Hansen & Heltoft (2011: 1657-1669) on the distinction between ‘internal’ and ‘external’ *at*, based on the fact that in some complement clauses *at* no longer forms part of the clause which it introduces but is external to it.

complement clauses can be used which do not elaborate on something which was said before, but which together constitute one discursive action. This is illustrated in the following (constructed) example, in which the speaker uses a number of complement clauses to describe a particular feeling one may have while traveling by train:

DUTCH (Driessen 2015: 105)³⁷

- (23) [Setting: a man is sitting in a room, working. Someone enters the room while pulling off a jacket and starts talking.]

Dat je in de trein zit.

COMP you in the train sit.PRS

'That you're on the train.

Dat je helemaal zin hebt om lekker een boek te

COMP you completely feel.like.PRS to good a book INFM

lezen.

read.INF

That you really feel like reading a book.

En dat je je opeens afvraagt: ben ik wel ingecheckt?

and COMP you REFL suddenly ask.PRS

And that you suddenly wonder: did I check in [on the train]?

En dat je dan de rest van de reis in de zenuwen

and COMP you then the rest of the journey in the nerves

zit!

sit.PRS

And that for the rest of the journey you're in a fidget!'

This constructed example comes from a cartoon focusing on new trends in Dutch usage (Driessen 2015: 105). In this example, the complementizers introducing the different clauses do not link the following proposition to something which was said before, but seem to function as more abstract linkers, signaling that all these clauses belong together and form part of one discursive 'whole', i.e. a description of a particular situation. In this sense, these structures resemble some of Mithun's (2008) examples of what she calls 'extension of dependency', where series of clauses bearing subordinate marking are used to describe the different subevents of one more complex situation. Discourse patterns like the one in (23) have to my knowledge not been analyzed in the literature so far. Further research is needed to see how frequent they are, and to what extent they are available in the other languages under investigation.

A final argument against analyzing elaborative constructions as instances of insubordination concerns their probable development. Because elaborative clauses are still discursively dependent on the previous discourse and sometimes

³⁷ I thank Freek Van de Velde for sharing this example with me.

show signs of syntactic dependence on a preceding predicate, it is very unlikely that they developed via ellipsis of a main clause and conventionalization of the semantics of the ‘remaining’ subordinate clause. Rather, it seems more probable that constructions like (9) and (10), partly repeated below, with an apparently ‘independent’ complement clause following a complement-taking predicate, may have functioned as some kind of bridging context between typically ‘subordinate’ complements in which the complement clause is integrated in one complex construction, and ‘shifted’ elaboratives where the complement clause is no longer syntactically embedded but still signals dependency on the discursive level.

DUTCH (CGN)

- (24) *maar toch heb je soms nog die dagen dat je echt zo ‘k weet niet hoe verliefd kunt zijn*

‘but still you can have those days that you can really be crazy in love
[...]

dat je zo echt weer opnieuw verliefd wordt

COMP you PRT really again again in.love become.PRS

that you really like fall in love again’

SWEDISH (GSLC)

- (25) *jag vill att dom ska ha fasta regler (...)*

‘I want them to have fixed rules [lit.: I want that they have fixed rules]
[...]

ja att man e strukturerad (...)

COMP one be.PRS structured

yes that one is structured’

3 Grammatical status of independent conditional clauses

This section is organized in much the same way as the previous one. First I discuss why deontic, evaluative, assertive, argumentative and reasoning constructions can be analyzed as instances of insubordination. I then show that such an analysis is problematic for post-modifying constructions, and propose an alternative analysis in terms of dependency shift.

3.1 Insubordination

In the literature, deontic, evaluative, assertive, argumentative and reasoning constructions have often been described as ‘independent’ (e.g. Oppenrieder 1989; Panther & Thornburg 2003), ‘isolated’ (e.g. Buscha 1976), ‘non-embedded’

(e.g. Weuster 1983) or ‘syntactically free-standing’ (e.g. Dancygier & Sweetser 2005) conditional clauses. Most of these studies precede Evans’ (2007) description of insubordination and do not pay explicit attention to the grammatical status of these constructions, i.e. whether they can all be analyzed as instances of one grammatical mechanism and why (or why not). In more recent work, deontic, evaluative and assertive constructions have been analyzed as instances of insubordination (e.g. Stirling 1999; Adriaensen 2010; Boogaart & Verheij 2013; Laury, Lindholm & Lindström 2013; Mato Míguez 2014; D’Hertefelt forthcoming), but very often this analysis is justified merely by the fact that these constructions look like ‘independent subordinate clauses’. In this section, I will motivate a little more extensively why such an analysis is indeed the right one for deontic constructions like (26), evaluative constructions like (27) and assertive constructions like (28), and I will show that a similar analysis also applies to argumentative constructions like (29) and reasoning constructions like (30):

DUTCH (CGN)

- (26) A: **als u uzelf even kort introduceert en uw vraag stelt**
 COND you REFL briefly briefly introduce.PRS and your question
 ask.PRS
 ‘if you briefly introduce yourself and ask your question
 B: *mijn naam is Bongers van de gemeente Arnhem*
 my name is Bongers of the municipality of Arnhem’

GERMAN (IC)

- (27) *Also ich finde Ansgar gehört langsam weg!!! Das is so n kotzbrocken*
 ‘So I think Ansgar should slowly be going!!! He’s such a bastard
wenn ich den schon sehe...
 COND I DEM PRT see.PRS
if I just see him...
 (<https://forum.daserste.de/showthread.php?t=1245136>, 14/09/2015)

ENGLISH (WordBanks)

- (28) *But, hang on a minute. Isn’t that cloth familiar? **Well, if it isn’t the legendary headdress worn by PLO leader Yasser Arafat***

ICELANDIC (IC)

- (29) [conversation on a Facebook page]
 A: *Sirka 70% netumferðar í heiminum fer í gegnum Internet Explorer. Það breytir því ekki að IE er drasl ☺*
 ‘Approximately 70% of the worldwide network traffic goes via Internet Explorer. It is unlikely that IE is garbage [smiley]

B: *ok... ef þú segir það* 😊

okay COND you say.PRS.IND DEM

Okay... If you say so [smiley]

(<https://www.facebook.com/Lappari/posts/722651744434706>, 14/09/2015)

SWEDISH (Laury, Lindholm & Lindström 2013: 242)

- (30) [Context: Moderator (M) discusses with two students (A, B) their chances of being admitted somewhere after high school]

M: *tror du att juri sku va rolit då om du sku komma in*

‘Do you think that law would be fun then if you’d be admitted?’

A: *jaa ja tror int ja klarar av å läsa utantill såndänt*

Well, I don’t think I’ll manage to learn such things by heart.

M: *mm*

[...]

M: *om ni int kommer in nånstans efter gymnasie.*

COND you NEG come.PRS in anywhere after gymnasium

If you aren’t admitted anywhere after high school.

A: *ha:ha, de gör man nog.*

Ha ha, we’ll make it no doubt.

B: *dee int nå problem.*

That’s not a problem.’

The arguments for insubordinate status are largely the same as for the complement structures discussed in Section 2.1. All of these structures have subordinate marking (a conditional subordinator and ‘subordinate’ word order in languages where this is relevant), while they are clearly syntactically independent. Since these constructions are also discursively independent, in the sense that they do not depend on the previous discourse for proper interpretation, they can be analyzed as ‘main clauses’ in their own right. A final argument in favor of an insubordination analysis concerns their probable development. Although diachronic corpus research would be needed to check this, on the basis of my synchronic data it does not seem unlikely that the constructions in (26) to (30) could have developed via ellipsis of the main clause and conventionalization of its semantics in the remaining subordinate clause. In general, a main clause can easily be reconstructed for deontic, evaluative, assertive, argumentative and reasoning constructions, as is illustrated in the following examples:

DANISH (IC)

- (31) *hvis du kort kan beskrive det engang til for*
COND you briefly can.PRS describe.INF DEM one.time again for

"Prins Knud",

NAME

‘If you could explain it one more time to “Prince Knud”,

så ville jeg blive meget glad.

'I'd be very happy.'

(<https://www.mybanker.dk/debat/privatoekonomi/8440-har-brug-for-hjaelp-kan-ikke-faa-delt-mit-laan>, 07/05/2015)

GERMAN (IC)

- (32) **Wenn ich den schon sehe,**

COND I DEM PRT see.PRS

'If I just see him,

kommt mir die Galle hoch!

I get angry!

(<https://www.palverlag.de/Antipathie.html>, 07/09/2015)

DUTCH (IC)

- (33) **Als er nu één iemand zo'n pass perfect kan geven,**

CONDthere PRT one someone such.a pass perfectly can.PRS give.INF

'If there's one person who can make such a perfect pass,

dan is het Xavi wel.

then it's Xavi.'

(<https://twitter.com/cedrinho/status/435887063876259840>, 25/03/2015)

ENGLISH (IC)

- (34) *The graphics are hideous. Sure, I get it, it's trying to be realistic. And it succeeds somewhat. But it ends up looking weird as hell. **If at least it had been stylized or "cartoonized" a la Uncharted**, I wouldn't have a problem. As it turns out, we're both feet in uncanny valley and that's just never pretty.*

(<http://www.gamefaqs.com/boards/933123-heavy-rain/53657358/590739477>, 07/05/2015)

SWEDISH (IC)

- (35) *Gick du på någon sport när du var mindre?*

'Did you practice a particular sport when you were younger?

Och om du skulle kunna börja på en sport idag,

and COND you should can.INF start.INF on a sport today

And if you were able to start doing a sport today,

vad skulle du vilja gå på isåfall?

what would you want to do?'

(<http://www.kissies.se/svar-pa-fragestunden-del-1-3>, 07/05/2015)

In (31), the main clause indicates that the speaker evaluates the requested action (explaining something once again) as desirable. The main clause in (32) signals the speaker's negative evaluation of the SoA referred to in the conditional clause (seeing someone makes the speaker angry). In (33), the matrix clause asserts that

the qualification referred to in the conditional clause (the ability to make perfect passes) applies to Xavi. In (34), the consequent clause motivates the speaker's implied disagreement with the graphics of a particular game,³⁸ and in (35) the main clause formulates an explicit question regarding the preceding potential SoA. If we compare the semantics of these main clauses with the descriptions of the relevant independent conditional constructions presented in Chapter 2, we can conclude that in all of these structures the main clause expresses a meaning that has become conventionalized in the 'insubordinate' use of these constructions.

3.2 Post-modifying constructions and dependency shift

Not all conditional structures discussed in Chapter 2 are as easily analyzed as insubordinate, however. Consider the post-modifying construction in (2) above, repeated here as (36):

ENGLISH (Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 265)

- (36) *"So you will keep him?" Macon said.
"Oh, I guess," she said. "If you're desperate."*

In the literature, constructions like these have often been analyzed as 'freestanding' (Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 264), 'independent' (Panther & Thornburg 2003: 144), or 'Covert-Q' (Declerck & Reed 2001: 383) conditionals, and some more recent studies have analyzed them explicitly as instances of insubordination (Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 21; Kaltenböck 2014; Heine, Kaltenböck & Kuteva forthcoming). In this section, I will show that post-modifying constructions are not as 'independent' as the insubordinate conditionals discussed above, and that they have a distinct grammatical status.

At first sight, structures like (36) look very similar to the insubordinate constructions discussed in the previous section, because they are marked as subordinate (with a conditional subordinator and subordinate word order where applicable) and they seem to be used 'independently', for instance constituting a separate turn, as in the preceding example. However, as shown in Chapter 2, since post-modifying constructions serve to formulate an extra condition for something that was said before, they are still 'discursively' dependent on the discourse which they modify and are not really meaningful when used in isolation, as illustrated in the following example:

³⁸ The clause formally marks agreement 'I don't have a problem [with it]', but as shown in Chapter 2 this structure is counterfactual so its polarity is reversed ('I do have a problem [with it]').

ENGLISH

- (37)
- If you're desperate.*

In addition to their discursive dependence, the syntactic dependency status of post-modifying constructions is sometimes also unclear. In some cases the conditional clause is clearly syntactically independent from the surrounding discourse. This is illustrated in (38).

GERMAN (DGD)

- (38) A: *Da hat der Herr Derwein im Fremdenblatt (ja) sehr schön beschrieben.*
 'Mr. Derwein has described this very nicely in *Fremdenblatt* [newspaper].

B: *Würden Sie noch ein paar Worte vielleicht über Herrn Derwein sagen, über ----, (ja) oder fällt's Ihnen zu schwer?*

Would you perhaps like to say a few words about Mr Derwein, about --
 -- (yes) or is it difficult for you?

(*Ach doch.*)

(Well.)

Wenn es Ihnen nicht zu schwer fällt.

COND it you NEG too difficult fall.PRS

If it's not too difficult for you.

- A: *Leider, ich bin im Stadtarchiv hier im Kurpfälzischen Museum schon zwölf Jahre, aber leider ist jetzt am dreizehnten Januar mein Chef, Herr Stadtarchivar Dr. Derwein, gestorben.*

Unfortunately, I've been in the city archive here in the Kurpfalz Museum for twelve years, but unfortunately this January 13 my boss, Mr. City Archivist Dr. Derwein passed away.'

In this example, the conditional clause formulates an extra condition for the preceding request but cannot be analyzed as a syntactic part of it. However, there are also cases in which the conditional clause serves to modify a preceding utterance which could be analyzed as its matrix clause, as in (39):

ENGLISH (Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 264)

- (39) [context: conversation between a dog trainer and the dog's owner]

A: *Maybe tomorrow he'll lie down on his own.*

B: *You think so?*

A: ***If you practice. If you don't give in. If you don't go all softhearted.***

In this construction, it looks as if the post-modifying construction is projected upon a previous assertion which was syntactically complete, but which in retrospect can be reanalyzed as the main clause for the following conditional clause (Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 264; see also Stirling 1999: 277 for a similar analysis of "elliptical *if*-constructions with contextually supplied main clauses").

Post-modifying constructions thus appear to vary in terms of syntactic (in)dependence, going from syntactic independence in structures like (38) to potential syntactic dependence in structures like (39). In combination with their discursive dependence, this makes it hard to analyze them as ‘conventionalized main clauses’ in their own right, and thus as instances of insubordination.

As was the case for the elaborative constructions discussed in Section 2.2, however, this ‘problematic’ dependency status can be accounted for quite naturally in terms of dependency shift. First of all, such an analysis explains why post-modifying constructions still have a modifying relationship to something which was said before, while they can at the same time occur in a separate turn and are no longer tightly integrated within one complex construction. A further indication for this analysis is that such constructions are not limited to modifying the content of the preceding discourse, but can also express modification at other levels, just like shifted dependency structures can (see Section 2.2). An example of a post-modifying construction signaling propositional modification was given in (39) above, where the conditional clause expresses a condition for the content of the previous proposition (‘he’ll lie down, if you don’t give in’). However, the following examples show that post-modifying constructions can also specify conditions on the meta-textual or the speech act level:

ENGLISH (Heine, Kuteva & Kaltenböck forthcoming)

- (40) A: *There was two dolls, a boy and a girl doll and the boy was actually (pause) like a boy.*
 B: *Yeah?*
 A: ***If you know what I mean.***
 C: *You don’t very often see that do you?*

GERMAN (DGD)

- (41) A: *Nein, sehr kalt, also nicht wie in Rußland.*
 ‘No, very cold, but not like in Russia.
So kalt ist es ja nicht hier, (ja, ja, ja) nicht?
 It’s not that cold here, right?
Wenn wir den Vergleich ziehen.
 COND we the comparison pull.PRS
If we make the comparison.
 B: *Ja. .. Nun, in den verschiedenen Jahreszeiten, wie sieht es da aus?*
 Yes. Now what about the different seasons?’

The conditional clause in (40) does not express a condition for the boy doll being like a boy, but for the speaker’s way of putting this. This type of modification has also been described in the literature on conditionality in general, where *if*-clauses specifying a condition for the use of a particular linguistic expression have been labeled meta-textual conditionals (e.g. Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 128). In (41), the post-modifying construction ‘if we make the comparison’ does not specify a

condition for specific temperatures, but formulates a condition for the preceding speech act, i.e. why the speaker *asks* about those temperatures. Such constructions have been labeled speech act conditionals (e.g. Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 110; see also Van Canegem-Ardijns & Van Belle 2008).

A final argument in favor of analyzing post-modifying constructions in terms of dependency shift concerns their probable development. A development in terms of ellipsis (often stated as the most likely scenario for insubordination, cf. Evans 2007) is unlikely for post-modifying constructions, because the utterance which they modify still functions as some sort of ‘anchor’ on the discursive level, and in some cases can even still be analyzed as a syntactic main clause on the propositional level. It is therefore not possible to reconstruct an ‘original’ main clause for post-modifying clauses, because nothing has been ellipsed. Rather, it seems as if the conditional clause has shifted away from its erstwhile ‘matrix’ so the two clauses no longer form one integrated complex construction, but they are still linked by a dependency relation.

4 Constructions with ‘main clause traces’

To round off this chapter, I briefly want to discuss two further types of constructions with ‘problematic’ dependency status, which also complicates their analysis as instances of insubordination. Specifically, this concerns constructions in which the ICC is preceded by what looks like a trace of a main clause. First, as shown in Chapter 1, Swedish and Danish evaluative constructions are frequently preceded by the marker *tänk/tænk*, which is morphologically identical to the imperative form of the complement-taking predicates *tänka/tænke* ‘to think’. This is illustrated in the following examples:

SWEDISH (IC)

- (42) *Bälte räddar liv!*

‘Seat belts save lives!’

Tänk att det ska vara en nyhet fortfarande.

think COMP DEM shall.PRS be.INF a novelty still

[It’s amazing] that that should still be a novelty!’

(<http://politiskvardag.blogspot.com/2011/09/balte-raddar-liv-tank-att-det-ska-vara.html>, 12/10/2011)

DANISH (D’Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014: 92)

- (43) *Tænk at han altid har den samme skjorte på!*

think COMP he always have.PRS the same shirt on

‘Why does he always wear the same shirt!’ [lit.: Think that he always wears...]

If these markers are analyzed as genuine imperatives, then the combination *tänk/tænk* + complement clause forms one complex construction in which the complement clause is syntactically embedded in the preceding complement-taking predicate. In this type of analysis, these evaluatives cannot be considered instances of insubordination. However, some authors have argued that *tänk* and *tænk* in these constructions no longer function as imperatives, but have grammaticalized into 'interjections' or 'markers' (e.g. Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson 2010 vol. 4: 760 for Swedish and Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 1159 for Danish).³⁹ So far, it is unclear to what extent *tänk/tænk* in these structures still functions as a kind of complement-taking predicate, facilitating the use of the following 'independent' complement clause.

Similarly problematic cases are reasoning constructions preceded by a question word. As shown in Chapter 2, reasoning constructions are frequently preceded by the question word *what*, as in (44). In some languages, like Danish, they even seem to occur exclusively in combination with preceding *hvad* 'what', as in (45):

ENGLISH (IC)

- (44) *She'd been so careful whenever he was in the house, always taking her purse with her if she went into another room, or locking it in the trunk of the car if she'd known ahead of time that he was coming over. **But what if she hadn't known he was there? What if he'd lurked outside, waited until she was in the shower or even in the bed asleep, then quietly slipped the lock and let himself in?***

(Linda Howard, *Burn*. Random House 2009, accessed via Google Books, 21/05/2015)

DANISH (IC)

- (45) A: *Hvad hvis jeg har glemt min adgangskode?*
 what COND I have.PRS forget.PPART my access.code
 'What if I have forgotten my password?

B: *Hvis du har glemt din adgangskode skal du bare trykke på knappen "Glemt adgangskode" på login siden, så sender vi en ny kode til den email du har oprettet dig med.*

If you've forgotten your password, you only have to press the button 'Forgotten password' on the login page, then we'll send a new code to the email address you used to register.'

(support.manillo.dk, 17/11/2014)

³⁹ Similar imperative-like forms introducing evaluative or exclamative constructions have also been discussed for other languages: see for instance Aikhenvald (2010: 234) for an analysis of elements like English *just imagine* as attention-getting devices rather than imperatives, and Hakulinen & Seppänen (1992: 527) and Heltoft (2007) more generally on the development of particle-like markers from morphological imperatives.

According to Evans (2007: 284), such ‘what if’-constructions cannot be analyzed as insubordinate, because the erstwhile ‘subordinate’ clause is preceded by an element of an erstwhile ‘main clause’ (‘what [happens] if...’).

In both the evaluative ‘think that’-clauses and the reasoning ‘what if’-constructions, the preceding element could be analyzed as some sort of ‘minimal vestige’ of subordination, i.e. a complement-taking predicate for the evaluatives, or a question word for the conditional clauses. In this sense, these structures seem to resemble cases of ‘semi-insubordination’ as described by for instance Van linden & Van de Velde (2014). An example of a semi-insubordinate complement construction is given in (46), where the complement clause is preceded by a noun phrase:

- DUTCH (Van linden & Van de Velde 2014: 227)
- (46) *Een opluchting dat ik weer wedstrijden kan spelen*
 a relief COMP I again games can.PRS play.INF
 ‘[It is] a relief that I can play games again’

The insubordinate status of structures like (46), and by extension (44) and (45), is in doubt, and their existence also raises some questions for Evans’ (2007) diachronic ellipsis hypothesis. Specifically, the existence of semi-independent structures could be taken to suggest that the ellipsis of the original main clause need not be instantaneous, but that the pathway from complex constructions towards insubordination could also go via gradual erosion of the original main clause. Diachronic corpus research is needed to investigate this further.

5 Conclusions

In this chapter I have investigated the grammatical status of the different ICCs that were distinguished in Chapters 1 and 2. Since these constructions look like independent subordinate clauses, it would be tempting to analyze them all as instances of insubordination, as has been done by some authors. However, I have shown that some constructions can better be accounted for in terms of the alternative model of dependency shift. In this section, I summarize what my data have taught us about these two mechanisms.

Insubordination has been defined by Evans (2007: 367) as “the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses”. In most existing studies, ‘main clause use’ has been equated with syntactic independence or the absence of an explicit main clause. However, in this chapter I have shown that this is not sufficient to distinguish insubordinate structures from constructions which are the result of dependency shift, and that in order to function as a ‘main clause’ a construction not only needs to be syntactically but also discursively independent.

Dependency shift constructions are not as independent as insubordinate structures. Although the subordinator in dependency shift constructions no longer always signals 'rigid' syntactic dependence on a specific matrix clause, it still marks more 'elastic' discursive dependence on the wider discourse context. As a result, the 'shifted' construction is not really meaningful on its own, but can only be interpreted properly in combination with the discourse to which it relates. In this chapter, I distinguished two instances of dependency shift, both of which display 'elastic' discursive dependence, but in different ways. Post-modifying constructions formulate an extra condition for one rather specific preceding utterance, but they can modify this utterance on different levels, e.g. propositional, speech act, or meta-textual. Elaborative constructions, on the other hand, do not show these different levels of modification but always seem to work at the content level. However, their 'elastic' dependence is manifested in their variable scope, as they can elaborate on one rather specific element, a particular utterance, or a wider stretch of discourse, as I argued in Chapter 1. In this sense, elaborative constructions are very similar to other cases where originally subordinate clauses seem to widen in scope, as have been described, for instance, by Thompson (1985) for English purpose clauses shifting from narrow propositional to wider discursive scope, or by Mithun (2008) for what she calls 'extension of dependency' in adverbial and complement clauses in various American languages.

In this chapter I have investigated insubordination from an external perspective, defining the boundaries of this mechanism by distinguishing it from a related but different mechanism. In the following chapter I adopt an internal point of view: focusing on those constructions that can unambiguously be analyzed as insubordinate, I will examine how these types relate to each other.

CHAPTER 4

Internal organization of insubordination

1 Introduction

This chapter studies the internal organization of insubordinate constructions. More specifically, I investigate how the different types of complement and conditional insubordination distinguished in the previous chapters relate to each other, both semantically and in constructional terms. Following the analysis in Chapter 3, I exclude elaborating and post-modifying constructions and focus only on those types of independent structures that can unambiguously be analyzed as instances of insubordination, i.e. deontic, evaluative and assertive complement clauses, and deontic, evaluative, assertive, argumentative and reasoning conditional clauses.

The first part of this chapter deals with the semantic organization of insubordination. In the literature, there are a number of proposals about the typical functions or meanings of insubordination, both for specific types and for insubordination more generally. At the lowest level, three basic ‘insubordinate’ functions have been distinguished, which have usually been labeled modal, interactional and discursive (e.g. Evans 2007: 368; Gras forthcoming; Heine, Kaltenböck & Kuteva forthcoming). At a higher, more schematic level, various authors have claimed that insubordination typically expresses ‘interpersonal’ meanings (e.g. Evans 2009; Van linden & Van de Velde 2014: 228; Sansiñena, De Smet & Cornillie 2015: 16; Vallauri forthcoming). In this chapter, I will evaluate these claims using my data on complement and conditional insubordination in Germanic languages. I will show that that data partly confirms the lower-level analyses, in the sense that the types I distinguish have two of the three typical insubordinate functions, i.e. modal and interactional. At the more schematic level, I will show that even though all my types express meanings that can be called interpersonal, there are also interpersonal-type meanings that are not found in my corpus of insubordinate structures.

In the second part of this chapter, I discuss the internal constructional organization of complement and conditional insubordination. At first sight, the various types that I distinguished all seem to share one basic insubordinate form, i.e. a clause marked by an initial complementizer or a conditional subordinator, in combination with ‘subordinate’ word order in languages where this is relevant. This raises the question if the different types can all be analyzed as separate constructions (in the sense of Goldberg 1995, 2006) or if they are better analyzed as instances of a more schematic ‘insubordinate complement’ or ‘insubordinate conditional’ construction. In the first analysis, each type is a conventionalized

form/meaning pairing and the link between meaning and form need not be functionally motivated. In the second analysis, we can posit one schematic type for each of the two types of insubordination, from which the different subtypes can be derived on the basis of their combinatorial potential with various functionally motivated features, like specific verbs, particles or polarity. Following our earlier work on complement insubordination in Dutch and other Germanic languages (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012; Verstraete & D’Hertefelt forthcoming) I will show that some lower-level generalizations are possible, but that it is not possible to posit one schematic type that encompasses all the different types of complement and conditional insubordination respectively.

2 Semantic organization

In the previous chapters I showed that insubordinate structures can be used to express a range of different meanings, i.e. deontic, evaluative and assertive for complement insubordination, and deontic, evaluative, assertive, argumentative and reasoning for conditional insubordination. The aim of this section is to put these findings in a broader perspective, by investigating how these different meanings cluster as instances of one or more general function(s) or meaning(s). I first review the proposals that have been made in the literature, and then examine if these proposals work for my data. In Section 2.1 I discuss the three basic functions that have been distinguished for insubordination, and I show that the types studied here have two of these three functions. In Section 2.2 I argue that complement and conditional insubordination seem to fit the broad generalization about ‘interpersonal’ semantics proposed in the literature, but that not all types of interpersonal meanings are attested.

2.1 Functions of insubordination

In the literature on (specific types of) insubordination, three basic ‘insubordinate’ functions have been distinguished (e.g. Evans 2007: 368; Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 14; Gras forthcoming; Heine, Kaltenböck & Kuteva forthcoming). These three functions have typically been labeled *modal*, *interactional* and *discursive*. In the following sections, I will discuss my findings for each of these three functions in more detail.

2.1.1 Modal

The first function which has been identified for (specific types of) insubordination is the expression of the speaker’s attitude, a function which has been labeled

‘modal’. In the literature on insubordination, three types of modal meanings are usually distinguished, i.e. (i) *deontic*, for constructions marking, for instance, obligation or permission, or (un)desirability more generally, (ii) *epistemic*, for constructions that deal with “belief, truth, [and] knowledge about the proposition” (Evans 2007: 394), and (iii) *evaluative*, for constructions that mark the speaker’s evaluation of a particular SoA.⁴⁰ In the following paragraphs, I show that complement and conditional insubordination are frequently used for the expression of deontic and evaluative meanings, but have only marginal epistemic uses.

First of all, almost all studies of insubordination distinguish a number of deontic types. Deontic insubordination includes for instance hortatives as in (1), wishes as in (2), expressions of obligation as in (3), or suggestions as in (4) (e.g. Evans 2007: 394; Gras forthcoming; Cristofaro forthcoming). In the Kayardild structure in (1), a complementizing case marker (*-jinja-*) is used in an independent clause to signal hortative meaning (Evans 2007: 382). In the Spanish example in (2), an independent complement clause is used to express a wish by the speaker (Sansiñena, De Smet & Cornillie 2015: 14). In the Sliammon Salish construction in (3), the speaker uses an independent conjunctive clause to express obligation (Watanabe forthcoming), and in the Japanese example in (4) the conditional marker *-tara* marks a suggestion or request (Evans 2007: 341).

KAYARDILD (Evans 2007: 382)

- (1) *Wirdi-jinja-da dathin-a dukurduku binthu*
 stay-HORT-yet that-NOM moist.NOM prepuce.NOM
 ‘Let those freshly circumcised foreskins wait a while yet (before burying them).’

SPANISH (Sansiñena, De Smet & Cornillie 2015: 14)

- (2) *¡Que sean felices!*
 COMP be.3PL.PRS.SBJV happy
 ‘May you be happy.’ [lit.: That you are happy.]

SLIAMMON SALISH (Watanabe forthcoming)

- (3) *[ʔiʔ-ax^w=k^wa θu.]_{cnj} ʔuwk^w gət ʔaʔq'-əm nəgi*
 fast-2SG.CNJ.SBJ=QUOT go all who wait-MDL 2SG.INDP
na-t-əm=k^wa qayx
 say-CTR-PASS=QUOT Mink

⁴⁰ As Evans (2007: 394) points out, evaluation is not always included in traditional classifications of modality. However, since evaluative insubordinate constructions express the speaker’s attitude towards a particular fact, they are semantically closely related to constructions that signal deontic and epistemic meanings, which is why many authors include them in the category of modal insubordination, as I will do as well.

“**You are to hurry up and go.** Everyone is waiting for you,” he said to Mink.’

JAPANESE (Evans 2007: 341)

(4) *oishasan ni it-tara?*

doctor LOC go-if

‘Why don’t you go to a doctor?’

Complement and conditional insubordination in Germanic languages have typically been associated with two main types of deontic meaning, i.e. the expression of wishes (my ‘uncontrolled deontic’ types) and the expression of various types of directives (my ‘controlled deontic’ types). In discussions of conditional directive constructions, most notably requests like (5) and suggestions like (6), various authors have argued that such constructions are more polite than ‘standard’ directives like imperatives (e.g. Ford & Thompson 1986: 365; Stirling 1999: 227; Panther & Thornburg 2003: 132; Adriaensen 2010: 20; Mato Míguez 2014; D’Hertefelt forthcoming).

ENGLISH (Stirling 1999: 278)

(5) *If you’d like to move your head a little.*

DUTCH (IC)

(6) [context: post on a blog which presents a new recipe every day; in this case for Caesar Salad]

En als we vanavond nu eens iets lichts zouden eten?

and COND we tonight PRT PRT something light would eat.INF

‘And [what] if we would eat something light tonight?’

Een kleine Caesar Salad bijvoorbeeld?

A small Caesar Salad for instance?’

(<https://beenaps.com/smaakvol-plezier-lillois-witterzee/>, 14/09/2015)

According to Adriaensen (2010: 20), the politeness of these conditional constructions is due to the fact that they are ‘elliptical’ or ‘incomplete’ and put the face-threatening act off the record (see also Sadock & Zwicky 1985: 193 and Brown & Levinson 1987: 227 on the link between incompleteness, indirectness and politeness). However, Evans (2007: 393) warns against oversimplification in this domain, arguing that ‘incompleteness’ does not always involve politeness, and that some insubordinate constructions are in fact more imperious than their ‘standard’ directive counterparts. This is confirmed if we take a look at some types of insubordinate complement clauses. A number of authors have argued that orders like (7) or prohibitions like (8) are not more polite than standard imperatives (e.g. Maekelberghe 2011: 52; Panther & Thornburg 2011: 99), and Oppenrieder (1989: 196) has even argued that constructions like (7) are ‘stronger’ than regular imperatives:

GERMAN (Panther & Thornburg 2011: 89)

- (7) *Dass du dich ja anständig benimmst!*
 COMP you REFL PRT appropriately behave.PRS.IND
 'Behave appropriately by all means.' [lit.: That you behave...]

DUTCH (Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 134)

- (8) *Dat je het niet waagt als disc te gaan raiden.*
 COMP you it NEG dare.PRS as disc INFM go.INF raid.INF
 'Don't you dare to go and raid as a disc [role in a computer game].'

These examples show that 'directive' deontic insubordination does not always imply politeness, and that the politeness typically associated with conditional directives like (5) and (6) cannot (exclusively) be ascribed to their 'elliptical' or 'incomplete' subordinate form. In an alternative analysis, a number of authors have proposed that this feature of politeness is the effect of the semantics of the subordinate marker used, i.e. the conditional subordinator (e.g. Ford & Thompson 1986: 365; Stirling 1999: 280; Panther & Thornburg 2003: 132; Mato Míguez 2014; D'Hertefelt forthcoming). The argument here is that the conditional form of constructions like (5) and (6) marks the requested or suggested SoA as potential or hypothetical and evokes two alternative scenarios, i.e. one in which the desirable action is realized and one in which this is not the case. The hearer is implicitly offered the choice between these two scenarios and is thus presented with a 'way out', which makes the entire construction less compelling and therefore more polite. Since complementation does not imply potentiality the way conditionality does, complement constructions like (7) and (8) do not evoke an alternative scenario, which could explain why such constructions are not considered as polite as the conditional constructions. More generally, the specific contribution of the subordinate marker to the semantics and pragmatics of insubordinate constructions is a topic that requires much further work, which will not be pursued here.

A second type of modal meaning that insubordinate constructions can express is epistemic modality, "having to do with belief, truth, knowledge about the proposition" (Evans 2007: 394). Examples of epistemic insubordination include, amongst others, constructions that mark the degree of certainty of the speaker, or different types of 'evidentializing' constructions, where insubordination marks indirect speech or hearsay. Some examples are given below. In the Kayardild structure in (9), the complementizing case (*-kurrka*, *-jurrka* and *-nth*), diachronically a subordinate marker, signals direct perception, i.e. 'evidentializing' modality (Evans 2007: 399). In the Hausa example in (10), an (originally subordinating) potential marker (*kyâ*) is used to mark epistemic possibility (Cristofaro 2012).

KAYARDILD (Evans 2007: 399)

- (9) [Context: a group of people waiting on a beach, watching and listening for a boat.]

dan-kurrka ri-in-kurrka dali-jurrka budubudu-nth
 here-LOC.COBL east-from-LOC.COBL come-IMMED.COBL boat-COBL
 ‘(I can hear/see) the boat coming from the east.’

HAUSA (Jaggar 2001: 201; cited in Cristofaro 2012)

- (10) *yâu dà gbe kyâ iyà hausa*
 today and tomorrow 2F-POT be.able Hausa
 ‘In time you’ll probably master Hausa.’

The literature on complement insubordination in Germanic languages does not identify any epistemic functions. In my data set, most structures express either deontic or evaluative meanings, but I identified one marginal construction type which could be analyzed as epistemic, i.e. assertive constructions like (11), with which the speaker strongly asserts that something is the case. These constructions also seem to have an evaluative component, in the sense that what they assert is a personal evaluation of the speaker: in (11) for instance, the assertion is that finishing went particularly well. However, I do believe that their basic meaning is epistemic, indicating the speaker’s certainty that something is the case.

DUTCH (IC)

- (11) [comment on a picture showing a table filled with glasses of champagne]
En dat we goed afgesloten hebben..
 and COMP we well finish.PPART have.PRS
 ‘We sure finished in style..’ [lit.: And that we finished in style..]
 (<http://www.pikore.com/kristiends>, 17/07/2015)

In the literature on conditional insubordination in Germanic languages, there are a number of constructions that have been labeled as ‘epistemic’. First, in a discussion of conditional insubordination in Dutch, Boogaart & Verheij (2013: 21) argue that wishes like (12) have both a deontic and an epistemic dimension, because they not only express the speaker’s wish that something happens, but also indicate their doubt that this wish will be realized.

DUTCH (Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 19)

- (12) *Als dat maar goed gaat,*
 COND DEM PRT well go.PRS
 ‘If only that goes well,

denk ik vaak bij Alexei Shirov. [...] Steeds ben ik erop voorbereid dat de boel met donderend geraas in elkaar zal storten.

I often think with Alexei Shirov. [...] I'm always prepared that the whole thing will come crashing down.'

However, I believe that the primary meaning of such constructions lies in the domain of uncontrolled deontic modality, because they signal that the speaker evaluates a potential SoA as desirable. The additional dimension of doubt is not part of what is encoded by the insubordinate construction but is better analyzed as a pragmatic effect, since speakers typically express a wish when they suspect there is a reason to assume that the wished-for SoA will not be realized. As it is, I do not see sufficient reason to analyze wishes like (12) as expressions of epistemic meaning: they are deontic structures, with an additional feature of epistemicity as a pragmatic effect.

Another type of conditional insubordination that has been described as epistemic are reasoning constructions like (13):

ENGLISH (Panther & Thornburg 2003: 143)

- (13) *Farland summed up. Quite fair to hold out on Winter. It seems he's keeping things back. **If he knows about the knife... And if he knows that Wally did attack the girl...** There were voices in the hall and Winter entered with the visitor.*

According to Panther & Thornburg (2003: 142), these constructions are epistemic because they have a reasoning function, "inviting the reasoner to complete the conditional by drawing conclusions from the premise it expresses". While I agree that reasoning constructions have an inviting dimension, I do not agree that this makes the construction epistemic. Unlike with epistemic constructions like (9) to (11) above, constructions like (13) do not indicate the speaker's attitude towards the proposition, e.g. how certain the speaker is that someone knows about the knife. I will therefore not analyze them as instances of epistemic modality.

However, there is one type of conditional insubordination which I think can be analyzed as epistemic, i.e. assertive constructions like (14) and (15), which serve to state that something is the case:

DUTCH (Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 18)

- (14) *Als dat [eigennaam] niet is!*
COND DEM NAME NEG be.PRS
'If that isn't [proper name]!'

ENGLISH (IC)

- (15) [comment on a picture of someone wearing a onesie at a cash dispenser]
Well, if ever there was a day for wearing a onesie in public.....
(https://twitter.com/robbie_buck/status/601585380622663680, 14/09/2015)

According to Boogaart & Verheij (2013: 19), constructions like (14) are epistemic because they express the speaker's certainty that something is the case. I agree with this analysis, and think the same applies to constructions like (15), where the speaker asserts certainty about a particular qualification, i.e. that today is an appropriate day to wear a onesie in public. As with assertive complement constructions, assertive conditionals like (14) and (15) can also have an additional evaluative component, but their basic meaning seems to be in the epistemic domain. Overall, we can conclude that the epistemic potential of complement and conditional insubordination in the Germanic languages studied seems to be rather limited, in that it is restricted to expressions of certainty and there are no constructions with evidential meanings or signaling epistemic possibility.

In addition to deontic and epistemic modal meanings, insubordinate constructions are also frequently used to express evaluation, or "speaker reaction to the proposition, such as astonishment and disapproval" (Evans 2007: 394). Some examples of evaluative insubordination are given below. In the Mohawk structure in (16), the complementizer/nominalizer *tsi* has an exclamative function (Mithun forthcoming). In the Archi structure in (17), *-t:u* is a complementizer which normally occurs with predicates expressing perception, but is here used on its own to mark evaluation (Cristofaro 2012). As I showed in the descriptive chapters, such uses have frequently been labeled 'expressive' or 'exclamative' in the literature, but I prefer the label 'evaluative'.

MOHAWK (Mithun forthcoming)

- (16) *Á:ke tsi ni-ka-nó:r-on.*
 gee how PART-N-dear-ST
 'Gee how expensive it is!'

ARCHI (Kalinina 2011: 180; cited in Cristofaro 2012)

- (17) *wajo, o sa<r>k:e, godo-w lo χab-kul uw-na*
 oh once II.look.IMP the-I child fast.NOMLZ I.do.PFV-CONV.IRR
he^ɸršur-t:u!
 run.IPFV-ATTR.I
 'Oh, just look, the boy is running so fast!'

Almost all analyses of complement and conditional insubordination in the Germanic languages identify an exclamative/evaluative function. In Chapters 1 and 2 I showed that complement and conditional insubordinate constructions can be used to evaluate the occurrence of an SoA in terms of expectedness, as in (18), or to evaluate something as remarkable, negative or absurd, as in (19):

GERMAN (Panther & Thornburg 2011: 89)

- (18) *Dass das ausgerechnet mir passieren muss!*
 COMP DEM precisely me happen.INF must.PRS.IND
 'That this should happen to me (of all people)!'

ENGLISH (IC)

- (19) *Well **if that's supposed to be the Hero....** I didn't know he wore high heels*
 (<http://www.questformoreglory.com/forums/index.php?showtopic=619>,
 14/09/2015)

In addition to the deontic, epistemic and evaluative types discussed so far, there is one more type of conditional insubordination that seems to signal the speaker's attitude and could thus be analyzed as 'modal', but which resists a classification as either deontic, epistemic or evaluative. These are argumentative constructions like the following, which serve to motivate the speaker's implied agreement as in (20), or disagreement as in (21):

DUTCH (IC)

- (20) [Reaction on a blogpost about predicting a horse's birth with a 'temperature test']
Ik vind dat een beetje vergezocht eigenlijk.
 'Personally I think that's a little far-fetched.
Maar ja, als je weet dat je het niet merkt aan
 but yes COND you know.PRS COMP you it NEG notice.PRS on
de merrie....
 the mare
 'But well, if you know you can't tell from the mare [if the delivery is near]...'
 (<http://www.bokt.nl/forums/viewtopic.php?f=1&t=105232>, 14/09/2015)

ENGLISH (IC)

- (21) [Forum conversation about perytons, i.e. very short radio signals which sometimes show up in radio astronomy, and which are said to be extraterrestrial.]
 A: *A paper came out this week pointing to them [i.e. perytons] having a banal (if amusing) origin: they are from two 27 year old microwave ovens. When people get impatient and open the door before the timer runs down, a short burst from the ovens' magnetron is released, which appears as a peryton if the telescope is pointed in the right direction. Figure 7. shows the perytons clustering around local lunchtime.*
 B: *Ouch, this sounds like bad news for someone. **If at least it had been some secret military source.** Not just a Philips microwave oven with the model brand name DSMC as in "Distant Supermassive Magnetar Collapse". Radiophysics is hard. (And how do the aliens know that humans eat at noon?)*
 (<http://physics.stackexchange.com/questions/173583/what-is-a-peryton>,
 14/09/2015)

These constructions are not deontic, because they do not evaluate a particular SoA in terms of desirability, and they are also not epistemic, because they do not express the speaker's knowledge or degree of certainty about the proposition. In addition, it is also hard to analyze them as evaluative, because evaluative constructions usually directly refer to the SoA which they evaluate, whereas argumentative constructions like (20) and (21) refer to a *condition* for the speaker's implied attitude of agreement or disagreement. For now, I analyze argumentative constructions as 'modal' types of insubordination because they serve to motivate speaker agreement or disagreement, but further research is needed on the relation between argumentation and modality.

2.1.2 Interactional

A second basic function that has been distinguished for insubordination is the expression of various 'interactional' meanings (e.g. Evans 2007; Heine, Kaltenböck & Kuteva forthcoming).⁴¹ Interactional constructions serve to manage ongoing speaker/hearer interaction and always expect some form of uptake by the hearer.⁴² So far, the interactional function has been associated almost exclusively with constructions in which speaker and hearer negotiate over the potential realization of a particular action, i.e. structures which also have a prominent deontic component, like the following. In the Yankunytjatjara structure in (22) an independent purpose clause is used to express a request for permission (Evans 2007: 389), and in the Polish example in (23) an independent complement clause functions as a warning for the hearer/addressee (Evans 2007: 393).

YANKUNYTJATJARA (Goddard 1985: 166; cited in Evans 2007: 389)

- (22) *ngayulu ngalku-nytja-ku / kuli-nytja-ku?*
 1SG.ERG eat-NMLZ-PURP listen-NMLZ-PURP
 'May I eat / listen?'

POLISH (Evans 2007: 393)

- (23) *Żebyś się tylko nie wywrocił-a*
 in.order.that-you REFL only not fall-PST-F
 'Make sure you don't fall! You might fall!'

⁴¹ Evans (2007: 387) uses the label 'interpersonal' to refer to types of insubordination that express aspects of speaker/hearer interaction. However, since I will use the term 'interpersonal' in a broader sense in what follows (as it has been used by for instance Halliday & Matthiesen 2004), I will not use it to refer to constructions signaling interaction.

⁴² This expected uptake can be linguistic, in the form of an explicit response, or non-linguistic.

These constructions have an interactional function because they prompt the hearer to some form of uptake, either linguistically with for instance an explicit expression of permission in (22), or non-linguistically, by for instance adapting their behavior in response to the warning in (23). However, as I showed in the previous section, such directive or ‘controlled deontic’ constructions at the same time also have a deontic function, because they evaluate a particular SoA as (un)desirable.

Constructions with mixed modal/interactional functions are attested for both complement and conditional insubordination in the Germanic languages. As shown in the descriptive chapters and in the previous section, both types of insubordination can be used to negotiate the realization of an (un)desirable action, with for instance orders, prohibitions, permission or advice constructions for complement insubordination, or requests, threats, offers or suggestions for conditional insubordination.

In addition to mixed modal/interactional constructions, my data set contains one construction type that is exclusively interactional and does not have an additional modal component, i.e. conditional reasoning constructions like (13) above and (24) below.

ENGLISH (Declerck & Reed 2001: 391)

(24) *And if he doesn't keep his mouth shut?*

These constructions function as the starting point for an interaction, because they invite the interlocutor to consider a particular SoA and formulate what its consequences might be.⁴³ As far as I know, this is the only non-modal interactional type that can be identified for complement and conditional insubordination in Germanic languages.

2.1.3 Discursive

In addition to modal and interactional functions, a number of authors have also identified a discursive function for insubordination (e.g. Evans 2007: 368; Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 14; Gras forthcoming; Heine, Kaltenböck & Kuteva forthcoming).⁴⁴ Discursive types of insubordination link a proposition to the surrounding discourse or extra-linguistic context. Unlike the modal and interactional types, discursive constructions typically do not have

⁴³ As I showed in Chapter 2, the invitation which reasoning constructions express can be directed to the hearer in direct interaction, as in (24), or to the speaker him- or herself in a kind of internal dialogue, as in (13).

⁴⁴ Evans (2007: 368) uses the label ‘presuppositional’ for constructions expressing “discourse relations”.

conventionalized meanings, but they depend on the (discourse) context for proper interpretation. Some examples of this type are given below. In the Spanish structure in (25), the complement clauses introduced by *que* situate the propositions within the shared speaker/hearer context, by signaling that these propositions reproduce “information that was previously part of their background” (Gras forthcoming). In the Arrernte structure in (26), the speaker uses the switch-reference marker *–mele*, which is morphologically a marker of subordination, to integrate this turn with the previous one, by signaling that the latter turn still deals with the same discourse topic (i.e. the bullock, see Evans 2007: 417).

SPANISH (Gras forthcoming)

- (25) [Context: family conversation. B and C are married. They are discussing where to invest their money. Bancaja is a local bank in Valencia, Spain.]

C: *antes de sacarlo de la Bancaja preguntaré/ si me dan más lo dejo en la Bancaja [...]*

‘before I take (the money) out from Bancaja I will ask (them)/ if they give me more (interests) I leave it in Bancaja

B: *¿la Bancaja?*

Bancaja?

que no conocemos a nadie ahora te vas a dar de
COMP NEG know.1PL.PRS.IND to nobody now

[QUE] ***we don’t know anybody now*** you’re going to fall flat on

C: ***ique conozco yo al director!***

COMP know.1SG.PRS I to director

[QUE] ***I know the [managing] director!***

MPARNTWE ARRERNTÉ (Wilkins 1988; cited in Evans 2007: 417)

- (26) A: *yeah, ikwere-kerte, re pente-ke kwete, bullock re*

INTERJ 3SG.DAT-PROP 3ERG follow-PST.CONT still bullock 3SG.DEF

‘Yeah, (they walked along) with it. That bullock, he kept on following (them).

B: ***nhenge kaltyirre-mele, eh?***

remember learn-SS INTERJ

Was (that one we’re talking about) learning (as he followed along)?’

In the literature on complement and conditional insubordination in the Germanic languages, elaborative constructions like (27) and post-modifying constructions like (28) have been analyzed as discursive types of insubordination, because they link the proposition that follows to the discourse context, either by “expand[ing] on and clarify[ing] an utterance from the preceding discourse” (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 142), or by formulating “conditions on preceding assertions in interaction” (Evans 2007: 418).

DUTCH (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 142)

(27) A: *en in één keer gaat dat vliegtuig een vaart maken om de lucht in te komen*

‘and all at once the plane speeds up to get into the air

nou ik denk wat gebeurt hier

I thought, what’s going on here

net een hele snelle lift he

just like a very fast elevator, isn’t it

B: *ggg*

ggg

ja

yes

A: ***dat je zo omhoog gaat***

COMP you like.this up go.PRS

when you go up like that’ [lit.: that you go up...]

ENGLISH (Evans 2007: 418)

(28) S: *Is it practically impossible to have that [a certain demand curve]?*

I: ***If you have this base.***

While I obviously agree that elaborative and post-modifying constructions have discursive functions, I do not agree that they are instances of *insubordination*. As argued in the previous chapter, such constructions can be analyzed more naturally as instances of an alternative mechanism, i.e. dependency shift, because they still maintain some level of dependence vis-à-vis the discourse which they expand or modify and therefore do not function as conventionalized main clauses in their own right. Further research is needed to see to what extent the same could be argued for the other types of ‘discursive insubordination’ that have been distinguished in the literature so far, and to what extent their analysis as instances of insubordination should perhaps be reconsidered.

2.2 Semantic domains

In the previous section I showed that the different types of insubordination that I distinguished for the Germanic languages can all be analyzed in terms of two more general functions, i.e. modal and interactional. In this section, I will show that an even higher level of semantic abstraction could be proposed, since the different types are all located in one general semantic domain, i.e. the interpersonal domain.

Many functional approaches to language distinguish between three basic functional or semantic domains for the linguistic system (e.g. González-García & Butler 2006). The first domain is often known as the ideational or propositional component: it deals with the expression of content, and contains “the resources

of the language for making it possible to talk about something” (Traugott 1982: 248, see also Halliday & Hasan 1976: 26 and Halliday & Matthiesen 2004: 29). The second component has been labeled interpersonal or expressive and encompasses both the expression of personal speaker attitudes and speaker/hearer interaction (Traugott 1982: 247; Halliday & Matthiesen 2004: 30). The third component, often referred to as the textual domain, deals with “building up sequences of discourse, organizing the discursive flow and creating cohesion and continuity as it moves along” (Halliday & Matthiesen 2004: 30; see also Traugott 1982: 248). These three basic functions/meanings are not mutually exclusive, as a particular structure can, for instance, have both a propositional and an interpersonal dimension, but for most expressions one ‘main’ meaning or function can be identified.

If we look at the basic functions identified for our data in the previous section, it is quite clear that both modality and interaction are situated in the interpersonal domain. This is also reflected in the literature on insubordination, where a number of authors have claimed that specific types of insubordination tend to express interpersonal meanings, for instance Vallauri (forthcoming) on conditional insubordination in Italian, Van linden & Van de Velde (2014: 228) on complement (semi-)insubordination in Dutch, and Sansiñena, De Smet & Cornillie (2015: 16) on complement (semi-)insubordination in Spanish, French, English and German. My data did not contain any types that could convincingly be called ideational or propositional. No such types have been identified in the literature, and Boogaart & Verheij (2013: 21) have even argued explicitly that insubordination can never be used for the expression of ‘neutral’ propositional meanings. Discursive types of insubordination seem to belong to the textual domain, as has also been claimed for instance by Sansiñena, De Smet & Cornillie (2015: 16). However, as shown in the previous section, constructions expressing discourse links cannot be analyzed as instances of insubordination, at least not in my data.

Thus, one could say that insubordination is a mechanism for the expression of various types of interpersonal meanings. This raises a number of questions, however. The first is where this link between insubordination and this specific semantic domain comes from. Is there something about the diachronic processes leading to insubordination that push them in this direction? A number of authors have argued that the ‘incomplete’ form of insubordinate constructions gives them a more ‘expressive’ character. For instance, in their discussion of insubordinate complement evaluatives, Quirk et al. (1985: 841) have argued that the “omission of the matrix clause could be interpreted as being mimetic of speechless amazement”. In a more general sense, Boogaart & Verheij (2013: 27; also see Boogaart 2015: 96) have argued that there seems to be a universal relation between the ‘incompleteness’ of a construction and a “subjective, evaluative, exclamative” function. They claim that this does not only hold for insubordinate constructions, but also, for instance, for various non-clausal incomplete

constructions, like (29) below, where an independent noun phrase is used to express evaluation:

DUTCH (Boogaart & Verheij 2013: 26)

- (29) *De manier waarop die vrouw zich kleedt...*
the way on.which that woman REFL dress.PRS
'The way that woman dresses!'

The link between insubordination and 'expressivity' is also commented on in studies of expressivity, where it has been argued that expressive meanings are frequently expressed by 'incomplete' or 'independent' subordinate clauses (e.g. Foolen 2016: 482). As it is, however, further (diachronic) research is needed to investigate the relation between insubordination (or incompleteness more in general) and interpersonal meanings.

A second question about the link between insubordination and interpersonal meanings concerns the adequacy of 'interpersonal' as a generalization for insubordination. While all my types of complement and conditional insubordination in Germanic languages have interpersonal meanings, not all types of interpersonal meaning are equally well-represented. For instance, while a number of deontic and evaluative meanings can be distinguished, I showed earlier on in this chapter that the expression of epistemic meaning seems to be limited to a number of types signaling certainty. Furthermore, most of the interactional constructions all seemed to have a prominent deontic component. Therefore, at least for the Germanic data, claiming that complement and conditional insubordination are 'interpersonal' might falsely create the impression that such constructions can express any type of modal or interactional meaning, while their actual semantic range is in fact much more specific, mainly restricted to deontic and evaluative meanings, with some marginal epistemic and (exclusively) interactional types. I come back to this in Section 3.1 below.

3 Constructional organization

This section analyzes the internal constructional organization of the two types of insubordination studied here, examining whether specific insubordinate structures are all separate constructions in Goldberg's (1995, 2006) sense, or whether they can better be analyzed as instances of more schematic construction types. So far, this question has not really received much attention in the literature, except in our own work (Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012), and in Gras (forthcoming), who argues for different types of complement insubordination in Spanish that they can be analyzed as instances of two more schematic types, which both have their own "functional, formal and discursive features".

A complete constructional-network analysis of all the different types and subtypes of complement and conditional insubordination identified in the descriptive chapters is beyond the scope of this study. In this section I will focus on one question, i.e. whether we can reconstruct one schematic type for each of the two types of insubordination. At first sight, deontic, evaluative and assertive complement clauses formally look like instances of a schematic 'insubordinate complement' type - introduced by a complementizer 'that' and with subordinate word order in languages where this applies - from which the specific types can be derived on the basis of their combinatorial potential with specific formal markers. A similar 'insubordinate conditional' type could be posited for the conditional structures. However, following our previous work for complement insubordination (Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012; Verstraete & D'Hertefelt forthcoming), I will show that although some lower-level generalizations are possible, there are three main arguments against positing a general 'insubordinate complement' and 'insubordinate conditional' type, i.e. (i) that such a schematic generalization cannot easily be motivated semantically, (ii) that not all formal features of the different types are functionally motivated, and (iii) that there are synchronic indications that the different types are the result of separate diachronic developments. In the following three sections, I will elaborate each of these three arguments in more detail for both complement and conditional insubordination. It will become clear that, rather than displaying constructional unity, complement and conditional insubordination are constructionally fractured phenomena, encompassing a range of separate constructions.

3.1 Absence of semantic generalization

A first argument against analyzing the different types of complement and conditional insubordination as instances of a more schematic type is that such a generalization cannot be motivated semantically. If the different types were instances of one schematic supertype, this would imply that we could posit one schematic meaning for this supertype from which the meanings of the different types could be derived. This schematic meaning would have to be sufficiently general to capture the meanings of the different types, but at the same time it would have to be specific enough to predict which meanings are *not* attested.

At lower levels of analysis, some degree of semantic generalization seems to be possible in some cases, as specific subtypes sometimes share one basic meaning. This is the case, for instance, for the three types of conditional wishes distinguished in Chapter 2, i.e. potential wishes like (30), irrealis wishes like (31) and counterfactual wishes like (32):

ENGLISH (IC)

- (30) *If only he doesn't take the wrong path.*
(<https://bookhaven.stanford.edu/2011/10/m-g-stephens-on-brodsky-it-is-the-voice-that-seduces-us/>, 14/09/2015)

ENGLISH (IC)

- (31) *If you only knew the power of the dark side*
(<http://www.imdb.com/character/ch0000005/quotes>, 14/09/2015)

ENGLISH (IC)

- (32) *If only she hadn't succumbed to Eric's captivating words and Nordic looks.*
(Elaine Coffman, *Angel in Marble*. Ellora's Cave Publishing Inc. 2012, accessed via Google Books, 14/09/2015)

As I showed in Chapter 2, these three types share one 'wish' meaning in the sense that they all evaluate a potential SoA as desirable and mark the realization of this SoA as not being controlled by one of the speech act participants. The only semantic difference between the types is the degree of likelihood of the potential realization of the speaker's wish (i.e. probable, improbable or impossible), which is formally reflected in the functionally motivated use of specific verb tenses (and/or moods), as I will show in more detail in Section 3.2 below.

However, although lower-level semantic generalizations can work for some types, it is not possible to reconstruct one adequate schematic meaning for all the types that have been distinguished. At first sight, we could perhaps posit a general 'interpersonal' meaning for the schematic insubordinate complement and insubordinate conditional type (see the discussion in section 2 above), and argue that the more specific interpersonal meanings of the various types (e.g. deontic, evaluative, epistemic, argumentative or reasoning / interactional) can be linked to the semantic contribution of specific functionally motivated formal markers. However, as argued above (see also Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 143), the schematic meaning of the general supertype should not only be broad enough to encompass those meanings that are attested, but also specific enough to exclude those meanings that are not attested. This is clearly not the case for the label 'interpersonal': if the specific types are all instances of a more schematic 'interpersonal' type, then why are there no insubordinate structures expressing epistemic possibility, or why are interactional functions limited to a small number of directive and reasoning constructions? As it is, insubordinate complement and conditional constructions do seem to express a number of semantically related meanings, but the precise range of meanings which is attested is too specific to allow us to posit a sufficiently general yet specific schematic meaning.

3.2 Non-compositional marking

A second argument against schematic generalization is that the formal features of the different types of complement and conditional insubordination are not always semantically motivated. As argued before, a schematic generalization would require transparent functional links between the formal marking of a particular type and its specific semantics, in the sense that construction-specific markers contribute semantic features that further specify the schematic meaning of the supertype. In this section I will show that while some types exhibit compositional formal marking, this is not the case for all the insubordinate types which I have distinguished.

Let us start with a brief discussion of a number of types whose formal marking does seem to be motivated. As I showed in the previous section, potential, irrealis and counterfactual conditional wishes like (30) to (32) above all share one basic ‘optative’ meaning, and they only differ from each other with respect to how likely the speaker thinks the potential realization of their wish is, i.e. their degree of ‘epistemic distancing’ (Dancygier & Sweetser 2005: 56). As I showed in Chapter 2, these three types of wishes are also very similar in form, since they are all independent conditional clauses with the particle *only* (or its Dutch, Swedish, German, Danish or Icelandic counterpart) and only differ with respect to the verb tense (and/or mood) that is used. I also showed that the use of different verb tenses to signal various degrees of ‘epistemic distancing’ is well known from the literature on (full) conditional structures. It is therefore possible to analyze these three types of wishes as instances of one schematic ‘wish’ type, which has a generalized meaning, i.e. the evaluation of a potential SoA as desirable and uncontrolled, and a generalized form, i.e. an independent conditional clause with a particle like *only*. From this schematic type, three subtypes can be derived on the basis of the specific verb tense (and/or mood) that is used: (i) a present tense when the potential realization of the wish is evaluated as possible; (ii) a past tense when there is some degree of epistemic distancing and the potential realization is evaluated as improbable, and (iii) what looks like a past perfect tense when there is a high degree of epistemic distancing and the potential realization is evaluated as impossible.

A similar lower-level generalization seems to work for evaluative complement constructions like (33) and (34):

SWEDISH (IC)

- (33) [Twitter comment on the 2014 World Cup semi-final between Germany and Brazil, which Germany won with 7-1]

<i>Att</i>	<i>något</i>	<i>så</i>	<i>avgjort</i>	<i>fortfarande</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>vara</i>	<i>så</i>
COMP	something	so	undeniable	still	can.PRS	be.INF	so
<i>spännande</i>	<i>på</i>	<i>något</i>	<i>skrämmande</i>	<i>sätt.</i>			
exciting	in	some	scary	way			

'[I'm amazed] That something so undeniable can still be so exciting in a scary way...'

(<https://twitter.com/eyebrowdesigns/status/486621108976615425>, 09/10/2014)

SWEDISH (IC)

- (34) [comment on a cover of a song]

Vad fan är det? Varför göra en löjlig travesti på en fin och klassisk sommarvisa?

'What the hell is this? Why make a ridiculous distortion of a nice and classic summer song?

Och att han alltid måste blanda in att han är bög

and COMP he always must.PRS mix.INF in COMP he be.PRS gay

i allt han gör.

in everything he do.PRS

And that he always has to mention that he's gay in everything he does.

Vem fan bryr sig egentligen?

Who the hell cares anyway?'

(http://www.youtube.com/all_comments?v=ebAyXSf-bjc, 13/10/2011)

Unexpected evaluatives like (33) and expected evaluatives like (34) can be analyzed as instances of one schematic evaluative type, because they share a general meaning (i.e. evaluation of an actual SoA in terms of expectedness) and a general form (i.e. an 'independent' complement clause), and because their more specific semantics is transparently reflected in their formal marking. As I showed in Chapter 1, there is a clear functional link between the presence of formal scalarity marking and the semantic feature of unexpectedness for constructions like (33), and the presence of formal marking of necessity or inevitability and the semantic feature of expectedness for constructions like (34).

However, not all types of insubordination in my corpus show such a clear functional link between meaning and form. For instance, the obligatory use of the marker *tænk* in Danish expected evaluative constructions like (35) seems to be quite arbitrary. In unexpected evaluatives in Danish, for instance, this marker is not obligatory, as shown in (36), and in expected evaluatives in the other Germanic languages studied this type of marking is absent altogether.

DANISH (D'Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014: 92)

- (35) *Tænk at han altid har den samme skjorte på!*

think COMP he always have.PRS the same shirt on

'Why does he always wear the same shirt!' [lit.: Think that he always wears...]

DANISH (IC)

- (36) *At noget så katastrofalt kan ende så godt..*
 COMP something so catastrophic can.PRS end.INF so well
 'That something so catastrophic can end so well!'
 (<http://www.sol.dk/debat/159-fri-debat-sex-a-erotik/2367026-at-noget-sa-katastrofalt-kan-ende-sa-godt>, 28/11/2011)

Another instance of non-compositional formal marking is found in the category of strong controlled deontic complement constructions. In Chapter 1 I showed that complement orders and prohibitions are attested both in German and Dutch, but I also indicated a number of differences in the formal marking and productivity of these types. In Dutch, strong controlled deontic structures are not very productive, and seem largely restricted to negative constructions expressing prohibitions as in (37). Constructions with positive polarity are almost non-existent in my data, and if they do occur they seem to have a semi-formulaic form with complement-taking predicates like *denken* 'think' or *zien dat* 'make sure that', as in (38):

DUTCH (IC; partly cited in Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 134)

- (37) *Dat ze maar niet te lang blijft teren op*
 COMP she PRT NEG too long continue.PRS live.off.INF on
die paar goeie liedjes en met een album afkomt!
 those couple good songs and with an album come.PRS
 'She shouldn't keep relying on those couple of good songs [she made] but make an album instead!' [lit.: That she doesn't keep relying...]
 (<http://www.musicmeter.nl/album/204213>, 29/09/2015)

DUTCH (IC)

- (38) *da ge maar ziet da wij ook eyehategod en*
 COMP you PRT see.PRS COMP we also NAME and
high on fire hebben
 NAME have.PRS
 'Make sure that we also have eyehategod and high on fire [playing on our festival; lit.: That you make sure that we ...]
of ik ben geen vriendjes meer me u op facebook meneer graspop!!!!!!!!
 or I don't want to be Facebook friends anymore, mister Graspop!
 (<https://www.facebook.com/graspop/photos/a.114580048582162.6436.104936299546537/860281157345377/>, 09/09/2015)

Why is it that Dutch complement structures can be used with explicit negation to express prohibitions, but cannot be used productively with positive polarity to express orders? As argued in our previous work (Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 145), this polarity restriction seems rather arbitrary from a

constructional perspective. This is even clearer from a comparative perspective, because in the German equivalents positive and negative structures seem equally productive, as shown in (39) and (40):

GERMAN (Pasch et al. 2003: 204)

- (39) *Dass du ja deine Schularbeiten machst!*
COMP you PRT your homework make.PRS
'Do your homework!' [lit.: That you do your homework!]

GERMAN (Maekelberghe 2011: 12)

- (40) *"Daß Du mir aber nicht wieder wegläufst, nicht!"*
COMP you PRT PRT NEG again run.away.PRS NEG
'Don't you run away again!' [lit.: That you don't run away again!]

Arbitrary restrictions like the ones illustrated here are problematic for an analysis of the different types as instances of one schematic type. Instead, they seem to argue in favor of an analysis of the different types as separate constructions. This type of analysis receives further support in the next section.

3.3 Indications of separate developmental paths

A third argument against schematic generalization is that many of the subtypes identified in the descriptive chapters seem to be the result of separate diachronic developments. This is manifested in two ways. First, not all types allow the reconstitution of a syntactic main clause, which seems to suggest that they are at different stages of Evans' (2007) developmental path for insubordination. Second, there are clear cross-linguistic differences in the availability of the types, which seems to suggest that their development is a language-specific affair. These two issues are discussed in more detail below.

In the general introduction to this thesis I briefly presented Evans' (2007) diachronic hypothesis for the development of insubordinate constructions. The developmental pathway he proposes basically consists of four stages, i.e. (i) a 'typical' complex construction, where the subordinate clause is accompanied by a main clause, (ii) ellipsis of the main clause, (iii) conventionalization of the meaning of the remaining subordinate clause, and (iv) constructionalization, where the erstwhile subordinate clause has been reanalyzed as a main clause and it may no longer be possible to reconstruct a syntactic matrix clause. In the following paragraphs, I will show that there are synchronic indications that different types of complement and conditional insubordination have constructionalized to different degrees, because not all types allow the reconstitution of a main clause.

First, there are a number of constructions for which a main clause can quite easily be reconstructed. As I showed in the previous chapter, this main clause typically expresses meanings that have become conventionalized in the

insubordinate construction, like desirability in constructions like (41) and (42), or evaluation in constructions like (43) and (44):

DANISH (IC)

- (41) *hvis du kort kan beskrive det engang til for*
 COND you briefly can.PRS describe.INF DEM one.time again for
"Prins Knud",
 NAME
'If you could explain it one more time to "Prince Knud",
så ville jeg blive meget glad.
I'd be very happy.'
 (<https://www.mybanker.dk/debat/privatoekonomi/8440-har-brug-for-hjaelp-kan-ikke-faa-delt-mit-laan>, 07/05/2015)

DUTCH (IC)

- (42) *Ik wens*
'I wish
dat jullie nog lang in gezondheid van dit moois mogen
 COMP you PRT long in health of this prettiness may.PRS
genieten.
enjoy.INF
that you may enjoy these fine things in good health for a long time!'
 (<http://www.tboek.nl/gastenboek/ftfmuseum>, 20/05/2015)

DUTCH (IC)

- (43) [context: Twitter conversation]
A: Koppeltjes dat kwaad worden op elkaar omdat ze een foto liken van iemand anders. Ik heb het nooit begrepen!
'Couples who get angry at each other because they like someone else's picture [on Facebook]. I've never understood it!
B: Als ge daar al ruzie om maakt
 COND you there PRT argument about make.PRS
If you argue about something like that
is uw relatie geen zak waard
your relationship isn't worth shit'
 (<https://twitter.com/bbqezel/status/408309681816227840>, 07/05/2015)

DANISH (IC)

- (44) *Det er mig uforståeligt*
'I think it's unbelievable

at noget så indlysende rigtig, skal være så svært
 COMP something so obviously right shall.PRS be.INF so hard
at forstå.

INFM understand.INF

that something so obviously right should be so hard to understand.'

(<https://twitter.com/jflomholt/status/587536301165019137>, 20/05/2015)

In all of these examples the main clause can easily be dropped, and the remaining subordinate clause can then be used independently, i.e. as an instance of insubordination, to express a request as in (41), a wish as in (42) or an evaluation as in (43) or (44). When used independently, these constructions are located at the third stage of Evans' (2007) developmental pathway, as they have a conventionalized meaning, expressing for instance desirability or evaluation, but still allow the reconstitution of a main clause.

However, there are also a number of constructions for which it is not (or perhaps no longer) possible to reconstruct a main clause. This is the case, for instance, for some types of controlled deontic complement constructions, like the complement orders in (45) and (46):

DUTCH (IC)

- (45) *Lieverd, dat je maar weet dat ik je niet vergeet.*
 COMP you PRT know.PRS COMP I you NEG forget.PRS
 'Honey, you should know that I won't forget you.' [lit.: That you know that...]
 (http://www.imonline.nl/Rip__Gino, 14/09/2015)

GERMAN (Maekelberghe 2011: 12)

- (46) *Dass du dich ja warm hältst.*
 COMP you REFL PRT warm keep.PRS.IND
 'You have to keep warm.' [Lit.: That you keep warm.]

For such constructions, reconstituting a main clause expressing the feature of volition is not possible:

DUTCH (C)

- (47) * *[Ik wil] dat je maar weet dat ik je niet vergeet.*
 '[I want] **you to know** [lit.: I want that you know] **that I won't forget you.**'

GERMAN (C)

- (48) * *[Ich möchte] Dass du dich ja warm hältst.*
 '[I would urge] **you to keep warm.**' [lit.: I want that you keep warm.]

As we have argued for Dutch constructions like (45) (Verstraete, D'Hertefelt & Van linden 2012: 147) and others have argued for German constructions like

(46) (Oppenrieder 1989: 196), it is the presence of specific particles, i.e. Dutch *maar* or German *ja*, that blocks the reconstitution of a main clause. When these particles are dropped, reconstruction is possible, as shown below:

DUTCH (C)

- (49) [*Ik wil*] ***dat je weet dat ik je niet vergeet.***
 ‘[I want] **you to know** [lit.: I want that you know] **that I won’t forget you.**’

GERMAN (C)

- (50) [*Ich möchte*] ***dass du dich warm hältst.***
 ‘[I would urge] **you to keep warm.**’ [lit.: I want that you keep warm.]

In earlier work (Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden 2012, also see Verstraete & D’Hertefelt forthcoming) we analyzed the presence of ‘main clause-blockers’ like *maar* or *ja* as an indication that such constructions are located at the fourth stage of Evans’ (2007) developmental pathway. In this analysis, complement orders developed from complex constructions like (49) and (50), and acquired their directive meaning when the main clause was dropped and the feature of volition became conventionalized in the complement construction (Evans’ stage 3). The constructions then further constructionalized (Evan’s stage 4), in that they started to attract markers from semantically similar constructions, like imperatives. Particles like *maar* and *ja* are typically used in imperative main clauses, as illustrated in the following examples (see Foolen 1993: 177 for Dutch and Thurmair 1989: 109 for German):

DUTCH (Foolen 1993: 177)

- (51) *Ja hoor, kom maar binnen.*
 yes PRT come.IMP PRT in
 ‘Sure, come on in.’

GERMAN (Thurmair 1989: 109)

- (52) *Mutter zur Tochter: Komm JA nicht zu spät heim!*
 come.IMP PRT NEG too late home
 ‘Mother to daughter: Don’t come home too late!’

Because *maar* and *ja* are main clause markers, when they are used in insubordinate structures like (45) and (46) they mark these constructions as syntactic main clauses and as such block the reconstruction of a matrix.

Another type of insubordinate constructions for which it seems impossible to reconstitute a main clause are constructions like (53) and (54), which are used to assert the occurrence of a particular event:

ENGLISH (Panther & Thornburg 2003: 140)

- (53) *And, so help me never! if his nibs didn't go and dossed with her the same night!* [1846 Swell's Night Guide 49]

DUTCH (IC)

- (54) *Ja hoor, als ik het niet dacht.*

COND I DEM NEG think.PST

'Right, I thought so.' [lit.: If I didn't think so.]

(<https://aspergeradd.wordpress.com/2014/01/14/tampons-halen-voor-je-partner/comment-page-1/>, 10/11/2014)

Unlike with the complement orders discussed above, however, the impossibility to reconstruct a main clause for constructions like these does not seem to depend on the presence of a specific main clause marker. As it is, their diachronic development remains unclear, and further research is needed to see how these structures developed.

In general, the fact that different types of complement and conditional insubordination display different degrees of conventionalization and/or constructionalization suggests that they are separate constructions, which are the results of a number of rather specific diachronic developments with origins in distinct main + subordinate constructions.

A second argument in favor of such an analysis is that there are clear cross-linguistic differences in the availability of the different types. Let us start by looking at the cross-linguistic distribution of insubordinate complement constructions, which was summarized in Table 7 in Chapter 1, and repeated in Table 18 below.⁴⁵ If we exclude elaborative constructions, Table 18 lists eleven types of complement insubordination. Of these eleven types there is only one which I have found in all the studied languages, i.e. unexpected evaluatives, and one more which occurs in most languages, i.e. expected evaluatives. The distribution of the remaining nine (deontic and assertive) types, however, is much more limited, as these occur in only one or two (or at most three) of my languages. Moreover, there are some indications that the availability of specific types is not an established fact, as new types may still develop and previously existing types may become obsolete. As I showed in Chapter 1, this is the case for some types of complement wishes, which in some languages sound archaic to the present ear, as in the German irrealis wish in (55), and in other languages have even disappeared altogether, as in the nineteenth-century Danish irrealis wish in (56), which is no longer possible in present-day Danish.

⁴⁵ For the sake of completeness, this table also lists the distribution of (non-insubordinate) elaborative constructions.

Semantic type				Dutch	German	English	Danish	Swedish	Icelandic
Deontic	Uncontrolled	Potential short-range		X	X				
		Potential long-range		X	X	X			
		Irrealis			X	X	†	†	
		Counterfactual			X	X			
	Controlled	Strong	Order / Prohibition	X	X				
		Weak	Advice	X					
			Permission	X					
			Challenge	X					
Evaluative	Unexpected			X	X	X	X	X	X
	Expected and negative			X	X		X	X	X
Assertive				X				X	
Elaborative	Increments			X	X	X	X	X	?
	Formulations			?	X	X	?	X	?

Table 18: Cross-linguistic availability of independent complement constructions in six Germanic languages.

GERMAN (Rosengren 1992: 35)

- (55) *Dass ich mir auch mal so etwas leisten könnte.*
 COMP I me.DAT also PRT like.that something afford.INF
 can.PST.SBJV

‘[I wish] that I could only afford something like that as well.’

DANISH (Kierkegaard, *Samlede Værker VI*; cited in Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 769)

- (56) *Ak! at hun dog ikke maatte døe,*
 INTERJ COMP she PRT NEG may.PST die.INF
ak at hun dog ikke maatte visne hen!
 INTERJ COMP she PRT NEG may.PST wither.INF away
 ‘Alas! That she may not die, that she may not wither away!’

In general, Dutch and German seem to have the widest range of complement constructions at their disposal, while English and Swedish are more limited, and Danish and Icelandic only have a few types.

For conditional insubordination the picture is broadly similar, though a bit more uniform. The distribution of the different types of conditional

insubordination in my six Germanic languages is summarized in Table 19, repeated from Table 17 in Chapter 2.⁴⁶ As the results in this table indicate, these types show a little more uniformity. Of the twenty insubordinate types that I distinguished, eight types are attested in (almost) all of the studied languages, i.e. the different types of wishes and requests, positive threats, the constructionalized type of direct arguments and reasoning constructions. However, there are also six types which occur in only or two of my languages, i.e. negative threats and suggestions, and some types of evaluative and assertive constructions, while the other six types occur in three or four of my languages. The overall distribution is similar to that of complement insubordination, as the widest range of types is attested in Dutch and English, some fewer types are found in German and Swedish, and Danish and Icelandic have the most restricted range.

In general, the different types of complement and conditional insubordination have an uneven distribution across the six languages under investigation. The fact that specific types occur in one language but are not available in another seems to suggest that they are the result of language-specific developments. If the separate types are the result of separate developments, then this functions as an extra argument in favor of analyzing them as separate constructions.

4 Conclusions

In this chapter I have analyzed the internal organization of complement and conditional insubordination in six Germanic languages. In terms of semantics I showed that these two types of insubordination have two of the three basic functions identified in the general literature on insubordination, i.e. modal and/or interactional. Since these two functions both fall within the interpersonal domain, my findings confirm earlier semantic generalizations about insubordination as an interpersonal mechanism. I also showed that the precise range of interpersonal meanings that can be expressed with complement and conditional insubordination in Germanic languages is rather limited, in that there seems to be a clear preference for various types of deontic and evaluative meanings, and very few epistemic or interactional types. This specialized semantic range is not typical of insubordination in general, however, as there are also languages in which insubordinate constructions *can* quite productively be used to signal various types of epistemic meanings. As I briefly showed in Section 2.1.1 and has been argued more extensively by Evans (2007: 399), in some Australian languages like Kayardild, insubordinate complement clauses may carry “various kinds of

⁴⁶ For the sake of completeness, this table also lists the availability of (non-insubordinate) post-modifying constructions.

Semantic type					Dutch	German	English	Danish	Swedish	Icelandic
Deontic	Uncontrolled	Potential wishes			X	X	X		X	X
		Irrealis wishes			X	X	X	X	X	X
		Counterfactual wishes			X	X	X	X	X	X
	Controlled	Speaker-oriented	Requests	for action	X	X	X	X	X	X
				for permission	X	X	X	X	X	X
			Threats	+	X	X	X	X	X	X
				-	X					
		Addressee-oriented	Offers		X	X	X		X	
Suggestions			X							
Evaluative	Remarkable				X	X	X			
	Lower-limit				X	X				
	Absurd				X		X			
	Subtype: 'if that isn't X'				X	X	X		X	
Assertive	Assertion of occurrence of event				X		X			
	Assertion of identification				X		X			X
	Assertion of qualification				X		X			
Argumentative	Direct arguments				X	X	X		X	
	Subtype: 'if you say so'				X	X	X	X	X	X
	Indirect arguments				X		X		X	
Reasoning					X	X	X		X	X
Post-modifying					X	X	X	X	X	

Table 19: Cross-linguistic availability of independent conditional constructions in six Germanic languages.

evidential force”, like direct perception, inference from observed facts or prediction based on knowledge. Therefore, although we can generalize that insubordination is a mechanism for the expression of interpersonal meanings, the precise range of interpersonal meanings that can be expressed seems to be rather language-specific. So far it remains unclear why this should be so.

In the second part of this chapter I discussed the constructional organization of insubordination. More specifically, I addressed the question whether complement and conditional insubordination show constructional unity (in the sense that the different types can all be analyzed as instances of one schematic type) or not. I showed that although some degree of generalization is possible at lower levels, it is impossible to reconstruct one schematic complement or conditional construction type, because this schematization cannot be motivated semantically, and because the formal marking of specific types is not always motivated functionally. Instead, complement and conditional insubordination appear to be constructionally fragmented phenomena, which both encompass a range of separate form/meaning-pairings or construction types. This is further supported by the fact that my various types show different degrees of constructionalization, which seems to suggest that they originated in specific main + subordinate constructions and are the results of separate developmental paths (though diachronic corpus research is needed to confirm this). In this sense, my synchronic data lend credibility to Cristofaro’s (2012) claim that the origins of specific types of insubordination are best understood by referring to “highly particularized contexts, rather than more broadly defined subordinate clause types in themselves”. Furthermore, an analysis of the different types as separate constructions resulting from specific diachronic developments could also explain why there are such significant cross-linguistic differences in their availability, even among closely related languages like the ones studied here. In this sense, my cross-linguistic data confirm Evans’ (2009) claim that insubordination is best understood as a language-specific conventionalization process.

Conclusions

The aim of this thesis has been to contribute to the literature on insubordination through a detailed study of two types of independent subordinate clauses in a set of related languages. In the first part of this study I presented an analysis of independent complement and conditional constructions in English, Dutch, German, Swedish, Danish and Icelandic. Integrating existing and new findings, I developed a constructional typology for both types of structures. I showed that independent complement clauses can express four basic meanings, i.e. deontic, evaluative, assertive and elaborative, and independent conditional constructions can express six basic meanings, i.e. deontic, evaluative, assertive, argumentative, reasoning and post-modifying. Within almost all of these categories, further subtypes could be distinguished on the basis of additional semantic parameters. The different types and subtypes and their distinctive semantic properties are summarized in Tables 20 and 21 below, partly repeated from Chapters 1 and 2.

In the second part of this thesis I investigated what these Germanic data can tell us about insubordination more generally. In Chapter 3 I investigated and refined the boundaries of insubordination, by showing that not all independent subordinate clauses are insubordinate. Specifically, I argued that there is another mechanism which can lead to apparently similar results, i.e. dependency shift, and I showed that the resulting constructions are structurally different from ‘classic’ cases of insubordination.

Chapter 4 examined the internal organization of complement and conditional insubordination. At the semantic level, I showed that my data confirm earlier generalizations about the semantics of insubordination, in the sense that the structures studied here invariably have modal or interactional functions, both of which are situated within the interpersonal domain. However, I also showed that the label ‘interpersonal’ is too broad to predict the precise semantic range of different types of insubordination, for a number of reasons. At the macro-level, the Germanic structures which I discussed are mostly limited to expressing deontic and evaluative meanings, and only have a few epistemic and interactional types. At the micro-level, it became clear that there are cross-linguistic differences in the availability of specific semantic types even among closely related languages, as for instance German and Dutch have a much wider range of constructions at their disposal than English or Icelandic. As concerns the constructional organization of insubordination, I showed that complement and conditional insubordination are no unified phenomena, but each encompass a set of distinct constructions, which cannot be analyzed as instances of a more schematic type, and – at least on the basis of synchronic indications – seem to have developed from different source constructions.

Deontic: evaluate potential SOA in terms of desirability	Uncontrolled: - addressee not assumed to control potential realization - speaker's utterance does not influence realization	Potential short-range wishes: - potential realization located in present or immediate future - no reservations about potential realization
		Potential long-range wishes: - potential realization located in or projected into indefinite future - no reservations about potential realization
		Irrealis wishes: - potential realization evaluated as improbable
		Counterfactual wishes: - potential realization evaluated as impossible
	Controlled: - addressee assumed to control potential realization - speaker's utterance influences realization	Strong: - speaker strongly committed to potential realization - speaker and addressee have conflicting attitudes
		Weak: - speaker weakly committed to potential realization - speaker and addressee attitudes aligned
Evaluative: evaluate actual SoA in terms of expectedness	Unexpected: - SoA evaluated as unexpected - positive or negative evaluation to be derived from context	
	Expected: - SoA evaluated as expected and negative	
Assertive: assert that something is the case		
Elaborative: elaborate on previous discourse	Increment: elaboration of speaker's previous turn	
	Formulation: elaboration of interlocutor's previous turn	

Table 20: Constructional typology of independent complement constructions in six Germanic languages.

Deontic: evaluate potential SOA in terms of desirability	Uncontrolled: - addressee not assumed to control potential realization - speaker's utterance does not influence realization	Potential wishes: - no reservations about potential realization	
		Irrealis wishes: - potential realization evaluated as improbable	
		Counterfactual wishes: - potential realization evaluated as impossible	
	Controlled: - addressee assumed to control potential realization - speaker's utterance influences realization	Speaker-oriented: - SoA (un)desirable for speaker	Requests: SoA desirable for speaker
		Addressee-oriented: - SoA assumed desirable for addressee	Threats: SoA undesirable for speaker
			Offers: speaker is willing to realize SoA Suggestions: speaker proposes that addressee and/or speaker realize SoA
Evaluative: evaluate SoA as remarkable, negative or absurd	Remarkable: SoA is evaluated as remarkable (+ or -) with respect to more likely alternatives		
	Lower-limit evaluatives: SoA is evaluated negatively and implicitly compared to even worse alternatives		
	Absurd evaluatives: SoA is evaluated as absurd		
Assertive: assert that something is the case			
Argumentative: justify (speaker's attitude towards) something from the previous discourse	Direct arguments: refer to given information to justify speaker's implied agreement or acceptance		
	Indirect arguments: refer to counterfactual information to justify speaker's implied disagreement or rejection		
Reasoning constructions: start of implied reasoning process			
Post-modifying constructions: formulate extra condition for something in the previous discourse			

Table 21: Constructional typology of independent conditional constructions in six Germanic languages.

Questions for further research

At various points in this thesis, the discussion raised some further questions which fell beyond the scope of this study. In this section, I give a short overview of a number of questions that could be pursued in more detail.

In descriptive terms, the analysis was restricted to structures introduced by ‘standard’ complementizers and conditional subordinators, to keep things manageable. However, most of the languages studied have related subordinators, which may have a different range of uses in insubordinate contexts. One example would be structures introduced by the complementizer for indirect polar questions (e.g. English ‘whether’), which as I showed in Chapter 1 (Section 4) are sometimes used for emphatic assertions, as in (1) below. Other examples would be Swedish and Danish structures introduced by the conditional subordinator *bara/bare* as in (2), which are sometimes used to express various types of wishes (as shown in Chapter 2, Section 2.1.1), or constructions where conditionality is not marked by a subordinator but by verb-first order, as in (3):

ICELANDIC (Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990: 36)

- (1) *Hvort ég skal ekki muna þetta!*
 COMP I shall.PRS.IND NEG remember.INF DEM
 ‘This I will certainly remember!’ [lit.: whether I shall not remember this!]

DANISH (IC)

- (2) *Bare han kommer hjem.*
 COND he come.PRS home
 ‘If only he comes home.
Det regner og tordner og han er stadig ude..
 It is raining and thundering and he’s still out..
 (<http://www.heste-nettet.dk/forum/1/1509061/1509061/>, 18/11/2014)

DUTCH (IC)

- (3) *Oh had ik dat maar geweten.*
 INTERJ have.PST I DEM PRT know.PPART
 ‘Oh if only I’d known.’ [lit.: Oh had I only known that.]
 (<http://www.bokt.nl/forums/viewtopic.php?f=103&t=1793910&start=25>,
 18/09/2015)

Furthermore, some of the languages studied here also have structures introduced by a combination of a conjunction or negator and the complementizer ‘that’, e.g. Swedish *så att* ‘so that’, *men att* ‘but that’ or *för att* ‘because’ as in (4) (e.g. Lindström & Londen 2001; Nilsson 2001; Lindström & Londen 2008), Danish *plus at* ‘plus that’ as in (5) (e.g. Nørgård-Sørensen 2001, 2006; Gregersen 2012; see also Julien 2009 on *plus(s) at(t)* in Scandinavian languages more generally), or English *not that* as in (6) (e.g. Delahunty 2006; Schmid 2013).

SWEDISH (Lindström & Londen 2008: 143)

- (4) A: *Sten å ja höll på å bråka me dom för att han tyckte att man skulle få välja vicket rum man ville ha sladden in i*
 ‘Sten and I were arguing with them because he thought you should be able to choose which room you want to have the [internet] cable in
 L: *mm?*
 M: *när dom nu ska göra borra hål i väggen*
 when they’ll start doing drilling holes in the wall
 (1.0)
för att vi har ju arbetsrum i det lilla rummet
 for COMP we have.PRS PRT study in the small room
[for that] we have our study in the little room
 (0.6)
å då har stiftelsen bestämt för alla ska få internet uttagen från från de stora rummet
 and then the institution has decided that everyone will get the internet sockets from from the big room’

DANISH (Gregersen 2012: 45)

- (5) *vi er ved at lave en film . . . så det bruger jeg en masse af min tid på,*
 ‘we are making a film . . . so I spend a lot of my time on that,
plus at jeg også er sammen med mine venner
 plus COMP I also be.PRS together with my friends
[plus that] I am a lot together with my friends’

ENGLISH (Schmid 2013: 78)

- (6) *no one will fancy him now. **Not that I fancied him before** but ...*

For all of these structures, it would be interesting to see which specific meanings they can express, and how they would fit in with – or require change to – the typologies developed here.

Another way to expand the data set investigated in this study would be to take into account regional variation in individual languages. As I briefly argued in the introduction to the descriptive part, earlier studies have shown that there may be significant differences in the availability of specific structures across varieties of one and the same language. For instance, Lehti-Eklund (2001: 111) has argued that elaborative complement structures seem to be much more frequent in Finland Swedish than in Sweden Swedish, and Verstraete, D’Hertefelt & Van linden (2012: 128) claim that there are some indications that Flemish varieties of Dutch have a broader range of insubordinate complement constructions than Netherlandic ones. Further corpus work is needed to confirm this, and to see if there are similar regional differences in the distribution of the other construction types I discussed. This will inform the discussion on the constructional organization of insubordination, specifically the question of the constructional

specificity of the different types (resulting from language- or dialect-specific developments, as argued in Chapter 4, Section 3.3).

This study has also touched upon some further theoretical questions. A first question concerns the development of insubordinate structures. In the two theoretical chapters I argued that on the basis of my synchronic data it seems likely that the different insubordinate complement and conditional structures followed Evans' (2007) proposed pathway, i.e. that they developed through ellipsis of their original main clause and subsequent conventionalization of meaning and possibly constructionalization of form. However, as I mentioned at various points throughout the thesis, there is an urgent need for diachronic corpus research to confirm this. So far, there has been very little genuinely diachronic work on insubordination, with notable exceptions like Gras (2013). Furthermore, in Chapter 3 (Section 4) I showed that some languages have insubordinate structures which are obligatorily preceded by what could be interpreted as a 'remnant' of an original main clause, e.g. the marker *tänk/tænk* 'think' in some Swedish and Danish evaluatives, or the question word *hvad* 'what' in Danish reasoning constructions. As already mentioned, the existence of such constructions could suggest that the development of insubordinate clauses from complex constructions need not always involve abrupt ellipsis, but can also go via a more gradual erosion of the main clause. In this sense, it would also be interesting to see how such structures relate to other cases where an independent subordinate clause is preceded by an element of a matrix clause, like the 'semi-insubordinate' structures briefly mentioned in Chapter 3 (Section 4).

Another theoretical question which follows from this study concerns the constructional organization of insubordination. In Chapter 4 (Section 3) I argued that schematic generalization is not possible for all types of complement and conditional insubordination. However, I also showed that some specific types, like complement evaluatives or conditional wishes, could be reduced to more schematic 'evaluative' or 'wish' types. In this thesis, I only tried to make a general point about problems with schematic generalization, but much further research is needed to develop a full constructional analysis of all types of complement and conditional insubordination, and to see at which levels generalizations are possible and at which levels not. This could also be relevant for diachronic work, as the absence of schematization for specific structures could point to different origins and/or distinct developmental paths (Chapter 4, section 3.3).

A third topic which I hope will be taken up in further research concerns the semantics of insubordination. More specifically, my work raises two questions. A first question concerns the semantic specialization of (specific types of) insubordination. In Chapter 4 (Section 2) I showed that although my data confirm earlier claims about insubordination as a mechanism for the expression of interpersonal meanings, the Germanic languages studied here show a clear preference for deontic and evaluative types, while there are very few epistemic and interactional types. However, I also argued (Chapter 4, Section 4) that this semantic specialization is not universal, since there are also languages that do

have a wide range of epistemic types at their disposal, e.g. Australian languages like Kayardild (Evans 2007: 399). Such differences suggest that we need more work on cross-linguistic differences in the types of interpersonal meanings that can be expressed with insubordinate structures, and possible factors underlying these differences, for instance differences in cultural sensitivities.

A second question about the semantics of insubordination concerns the extent to which the meaning of specific types of insubordination can be related to their 'source' semantics, i.e. the meaning of the equivalent subordinate clauses, which are regarded as their diachronic source in Evans' (2007) model. The material in this study could provide a starting point for this type of question, as it maps the different meanings that can be expressed with insubordinate structures using two types of subordinators with quite different semantics, i.e. complementizers and conditional subordinators. As shown in Tables 20 and 21 above, both types of insubordination can to a certain extent express quite similar meanings, since they both have a number of deontic (controlled and uncontrolled), evaluative and assertive types. However, the tables also suggest that the specific types of deontic, evaluative and assertive meanings which complement and conditional insubordination can express are quite different, as there are, for instance, no requests in the complement category, and no long-range wishes in the conditional category. Furthermore, in Chapter 4 (Section 2.1.1) I showed that conditional requests and suggestions have frequently been described as 'polite', and that some authors relate this to the conditional form of these structures, which marks the SoA as hypothetical and thus as less imposing. A similar link can be posited for other directive conditional structures like offers and threats (as argued in D'Hertefelt forthcoming), but it remains unclear to what extent the specific meanings of, for instance, conditional evaluatives or assertions can be linked to an underlying meaning of conditionality. In addition, it is not clear to what extent we could posit a similar 'complement' semantics that influences the different types of complement insubordination (but see D'Hertefelt forthcoming for a tentative proposal about 'anaphoricity' as a possible link). More generally, questions like these again concern the origins and development of insubordinate structures, and how far they can be related to their subordinate equivalents. In this sense, diachronic work on insubordination is an absolute priority to get a better grasp on the phenomenon. I hope that the analyses in this study can help to provide a good starting point for such work.

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